‘Suspicious Steeds and Evil Deeds’: Ambition and Misconduct in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*

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Abstract

Japan's Genpei War (1180-1185) has inspired generations of storytellers, artists and playwrights, whose work has brought alive stories featuring the warrior families of Minamoto and Taira. Many of the best-known tales about Genpei War warriors exist because of a collection of War Tale (*gunki monogatari*) texts known as the *Heike Monogatari,* which detail the highs and lows of the war, with embellishment and artistic licence.

While much scholarly attention has focused on one fourteenth century performance version of this text, other variants have not been so closely studied. One such is *Genpei Jōsuiki,* the longest variant text of the *Heike Monogatari* family. Unlike the performance texts, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not celebrated for its artistic properties. Instead it comprises what Matsuo Ashie terms a "pseudo-history," using many sources to reinvent these individuals for later period audiences.

This thesis explores how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents both stories and its characters. Using close textual analysis and inter-textual comparisons, I explore how *Genpei Jōsuiki* frames praiseworthy and aberrant behaviour, and how these depictions influence the reputations of the key participants. *Genpei Jōsuiki* emphasises the role of horses, even blaming one for starting the war. I argue that horses are not just battle equipment in War Tale texts but used in scene construction to foreshadow and influence the fates of individual characters. By identifying key themes from scenes where characters and horses interact in my first chapter, I establish three main case studies for my subsequent chapters. I argue that ideas of centrality and peripherality are also related to legitimacy and hierarchy in these scenes, and that the text's assessment of what makes aberrant behaviour depends more on the character's standing than their actions. Through textual

analysis, I posit that *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s morality suggests it is sixteenth century text, reflecting ideas of the late Warring States period.

Contents

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Introduction

The horse in Japan has always been a multi-faceted beast. As Hidaka Shōji states,

> 'It might be surprising to realise that horses do not just carry people and luggage, they also carry the burden of literary history on their backs'.[1]

This quotation, written in the introduction to an article on modern Japanese literature, addresses the dual relationship between the physical animal and its symbolic role. The inspiration for Hidaka's comment derives principally from research done on twentieth century works, for example, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's *Uma no Ashi*, but the dual role horses play in Japanese literature is no less true for the pre-modern period. While horses have had a complex and ritualistic presence in Japanese tradition since ancient times, the most prominent genre of texts featuring equine representation is that of the 'War Tales' (*gunki monogatari*), stories of military valour, heroism and tragedy. These texts nominally recount historical events, often with a flair for the dramatic and a dubious grasp of the facts. Among the most well-known of these texts are the many versions of the *Heike Monogatari* (*Tale of the Heike* - hereafter referred to collectively as the *Heike* 'corpus'), which recount stories of the twelfth century Genpei War (1180-1185). This conflict, which gets its popular name from the two main clans who nominally contested it in popular tradition (the Minamoto, or 'Gen-ji', and Taira, or Hei-ke), resulted in the founding of Japan's first military government in 1185. Japan would continue to have predominately military governments until 1868, making the Genpei War, with the benefit of hindsight, something of a 'how it all began' story for warrior authority. This evolving series of narratives helped to frame and reinforce the continued strength of military administration in Japan's understanding of its past. The Genpei War's role in establishing the first shogunate may explain why this tale has continued to resonate in subsequent eras.

This thesis will build on Hidaka's idea that the horse carries the burden of literary history. By using the tales of the Genpei War as a basis, I will argue that the horse acts as a catalyst and a trigger in the construction of stories within the War Tales. By using a variant text, *Genpei Jōsuiki*, which has received less scholarly attention than

[1] 「馬は、人や荷物だけではなく、文学史をも背負っている事に気づいて、驚くときがあるのかも知れない」 Hidaka, "Seou Uma No Bungakushi: Gunma, Iruisho, Andoroido.," 2.

more well-known performance versions, I will demonstrate how a War Tale can be used, not just as entertainment, but also to present deeper messages, some of which may carry political intentions. This thesis will shed new light on the complexities of this text as a significant variant of the *Heike Monogatari*, while arguing that its historical and propagandistic role should not be overshadowed or ignored. Despite its factual inaccuracies, *Genpei Jōsuiki* remained prominent as a source of historical propaganda even as late as the Pacific War.[2] It is driven more by complexity of information than dramatic and compelling prose, a fact which has, perhaps, led to it being overlooked in favour of more artistic variants.

Over the course of several centuries, War Tale texts have helped to shade in the life stories of the war's historical participants with literary embellishment, creating 'heroes' and 'villains', and blurring the line between history and fiction. Although they tell embroidered tales of men and women long since dead, interest in the events of the Genpei War has never fully waned. Throughout the mediaeval and early modern periods, these stories inspired dramatic adaptations in the form of *Nō , kabuki* and *bunraku* plays by such eminent individuals as Zeami and Chikamatsu. At the start of the Meiji Restoration, foreigners took stories of these battles back to their own countries, formulating their own histories or, in the case of the American authors Elizabeth and Frère Champney, a '*Romance of Old Japan*' (1917), which blended the figures of the Genpei War into a traditionally 'Western' tale of heroes, villains and damsels in distress.[3] Tales of Genpei exploits also contributed to Japanese war propaganda in the 1930s and 1940s, with publications such as *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki* (A Young Citizen's Guide to the Genpei Conflict, 1942), extolling to Japan's young men the virtues of sacrifice in the name of one's lord (in this case, the Emperor).[4] This interest has extended into the twenty-first century. Two NHK drama series (*Yoshitsune*, 2005, and *Taira no Kiyomori*, 2012), as well as a proliferation of manga (including *Shanaō Yoshitsune*, 2007-15) and computer game adaptations for both male and female audiences (such as FromSoftware's *Yoshitsune Eiyūden,* 2005, Kōei's *Harukanaru Toki no Naka De 3* releases in 2005, 2006, and 2017, and Otomate's *Genroh*, 2012) demonstrate a continued interest in this short but violent piece of Japan's past. The Genpei War was not just a historic event which marked the end of the political

[2] Hiruma, *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*.
[3] Champney and Champney, *Romance of Old Japan*, 125–56.
[4] Hiruma, *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*.

hegemony of the Taira family, but the beginning of eight centuries of storytelling; reconstructing and reinventing the actions and reputations of these famous figures to meet the tastes of every subsequent generation. The wide variety of media inspired by these stories demonstrates a need for further research.

It is into the symbolic and representational aspect of the War Tale that the horse often gallops. Horses play significant roles in *Heike* corpus scenes, and some are even named. They are memorialised in tradition and their stories marked in the modern Japanese landscape. A stone marker in the city of Uji, for example, denotes the location where the loyal and brave Minamoto retainer, Sasaki Takatsuna, allegedly rode the famed steed Ikezuki across the river first to cement his place in history as a hero. Legends about this horse also exist in Mima, a town whose very name means 'beautiful horse', while the grave of another *Heike Monogatari* equine, Tayūguro, is marked in the city of Takamatsu, to symbolise the bond between a grieving master and his dead retainer. Despite such examples, there are few studies addressing the role of horses in the War Tale texts. This neglect appears to be a wider trend in the study of animal participation. Geoffrey Pflugfelder points out that scholars generally focus on human activities, citing the example of Hannibal and the invasion of Rome, which, in scholarly discourse, was carried out by soldiers, rather than elephants.[5] The examples of Ikezuki and Tayūguro, and their continued recognition, however, demonstrate that horses can be memorable characters in the *Heike Monogatari* corpus, too, and their roles are particularly prominent in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Horses are used as narrative tools by the author(s) or compiler(s) to convey information to the reader about the scene and the characters, providing clues about the text's wider motivation. Behind (or beneath) every good warrior is a good horse, and horses play a pivotal role, both actively and symbolically, in the construction of many stories in which they are often taken for granted. This thesis will use the narrative tool of the horse to expose and analyse themes and messages contained within the comparatively neglected *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. The subsequent sections of this introduction help lay the groundwork for *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s provenance and context, the significance of the horse in Japan, and a methodology focused on intertextuality and centre and periphery through which the analysis in later chapters will be constructed.

[5] Pflugfelder, "Preface," xvi.

An investigation into the existing scholarly literature around *Genpei Jōsuiki* informs the next section of this study.

Literature Review

Research relating to the *Heike Monogatari* corpus has been hampered by the assumption that it is one text, rather than a family of variants, especially in the West. A recent article into Western research trends in Japanese literature by Ross Bender asserted that "Western audiences have become familiar with the great gems of classical and medieval Japanese literature", a statement validated by the claim that "at least three [translations] of *Heike Monogatari*" have been published in English.[6] The existence of such translations, however, does not mean that the English-speaking West is truly 'familiar' with the *Heike,* or that it has been thoroughly explored by Western scholars. All three English translations are based on the same version, the fourteenth century performance text known as the *Kakuichibon,* although more than a hundred variants of the *Heike Monogatari* survive. Because there are so many, I call the *Heike Monogatari* a 'corpus' – a family of related texts rather than a single work with a single overriding message or purpose. To properly understand the diverse aims of these texts in informing their audiences, it is necessary to briefly mention the key variants cited in this thesis, and their distinctions.

[6] Bender, "Trends in Western Research," 350.

Text Name	Approximate Date	Type of Text	Key Features
Engyōbon Heike Monogatari	Surviving text from 1408, thought to have been copied from a text of 1309.	"Read" strain of texts (not performed)	Contains a strong Buddhist element.[7]
Kakuichibon Heike Monogatari	Thought to have been dictated in 1371	"Performed" strain of texts	Served a placatory function for the souls of the dead warriors.[8]
Nagatobon Heike Monogatari	Unknown date, Mediaeval origin.	"Read" strain of texts (not performed)	Produced in the region of Japan around Nagato.
Genpei Jōsuiki	Unknown date	"Read" strain of texts (not performed).	Longest extant text, in 48 volumes.
Amakusabon Heike Monogatari (Feiqe Monogatari)	1592-3	Produced by Portuguese Jesuits in Romanised Japanese, in Amakusa.	Used as language guidance for Jesuits in Japan. Select scenes and few Buddhist associations.

Fig 1 - Table of Heike corpus texts referenced in this thesis.

[7] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi."
[8] Tonomura, "Kiyomori and His Family in Post-War Japan: Mizoguchi's Shin Heike Monogatari (The New Tale of the Heike)."

Scholars have classified these texts predominately into two different types – recitative texts that were performed (such as the *Kakuichibon*) and those which were designed as reading material. These were sometimes read aloud, but not performed, and often contain more detail, although their use of language is often less artistic and their formatting denser than the performance versions. This plurality of texts provides one of the biggest challenges to scholars of the *Heike* corpus, and has led to some variants being studied more closely than others.

The *Kakuichibon* remains the best-known version of the *Heike Monogatari*; other variants are poorly covered in English language scholarship. Amy Franks' PhD thesis of 2009 explored selected elements of the *Engyōbon*[9], and Vyjayanthi Selinger's 2013 publication, *Authorizing the Shogunate*[10], provides the only current English language study on *Genpei Jōsuiki*, but these works are exceptions. Even in Japan, reliance on the *Kakuichibon* is strong.[11] In recent years, Matsuo Ashie[12] and Okada Mitsuko[13] have made a concerted effort to bring academic attention back towards the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, and there have also been some studies on the *Engyōbon*[14], but a full and comprehensive discussion of the diverse accounts within these texts is still largely lacking. By using *Genpei Jōsuiki* as my base text and utilising other 'read' strain texts in my analysis, this thesis will help to fill some of those existing gaps in current scholarship.

Genpei Jōsuiki's place in the *Heike* canon has occasionally proven troublesome. As the longest extant variant of the *Heike Monogatari*, it has sometimes been considered an entirely independent piece of work, although the fact that it covers much the same subject matter means it is usually classed as a variant *Heike* text.[15] This separation is, in part, due to the structure and apparent intent of the work's creator(s). Matsuo Ashie believes that, while the performance *Kakuichibon* text adopts an episodic approach towards human driven events, *Genpei Jōsuiki*, as a 'read' text, focuses more on compiling data by discerning the origins of a tale, discussing omens and signs, and

[9] Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike.'"
[10] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*.
[11] For an example of heavy reliance on the *Kakuichi Heike*, see Kawai, *Go-Shirakawa Hōō*.
[12] Matsuo, *Bunka genshō to shite no genpei jōsuiki*.
[13] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*.
[14] Tochigi and Matsuo, *Engyōbon*.
[15] Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 16.

identifying additional sources of information.[16] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, according to Matsuo, is not a work of literary art so much as an attempt to gather together as much available knowledge as possible, offering alternative accounts in scenes to widen the discussion and add to the evidence. Matsuo argues that this desire to convey knowledge is what makes *Genpei Jōsuiki* worthy of study.[17] Despite this, there are far fewer studies on *Genpei Jōsuiki* – and even fewer which specifically attempt close textual reading of the scenes themselves. This thesis aims to address this oversight by using this variant as the principle basis for my textual analysis.

Just as most *Heike* academia focuses on the *Kakuichibon* at the expense of other variants, the same can be said for scholarly attention paid to certain characters and scenes. The scene relating to the *shirabyōshi* Giō and Hotoke, for example, has been heavily studied, most recently in the publication by Roberta Strippoli.[18] Characters who receive especial attention in popular culture, such as Minamoto no Yoshitsune[19], also generate excessive scholarly attention,[20] as do leaders such as Kiyomori[21], the powerful head of the Taira clan. Mikael Adolphson and Anne Commons's edited book, *Loveable Losers*, contains many references to Kiyomori, his actions and reputation.[22] At the other extreme, a notable research 'black hole' surrounds the individual that Watanabe Tatsurō denotes as the 'least popular'[23] *Heike* character, Kiyomori's third son and the last Taira leader, Munemori.[24] *Loveable Losers* contains only eight indexed references to Munemori across all of the collected essays. His father, Kiyomori, has eighty.[25] The twelfth century court diary, *Gyokuyō*, however, includes one hundred and seventy-seven entries relating to Munemori.[26] This comprises more entries than any other Taira, and helps to underscore how some individuals who were prominently involved in the

[16] Matsuo, *Heike monogatari ronkyū*, 119.
[17] Matsuo, 119.
[18] Strippoli, *Dancer, Nun, Ghost, Goddess*.
[19] 源九朗義経 Minamoto no Kurō Yoshitsune (1159-1189) – the youngest son of Minamoto no Yoshitomo and the victorious general at the final Genpei battle of Dan-no-Ura in 1185.
[20]For example see Thompson, "The Tales of Yoshitsune"; Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*; Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*; Kinoshita and Segawa, *Yoshitsune*. among others.
[21] 平清盛 (1118-1181)
[22] Adolphson and Commons, *Lovable Losers*.
[23] Watanabe, *Jūei genryaku no kassen to eiyūzō*, 85.
[24] 平宗盛 (1147-1185)
[25] Adolphson and Commons, *Lovable Losers*, 281.
[26] Kujō, *Gyokuyō Sokuin*, 125–27.

Genpei War itself have received less scholarly attention thanks to the influence of the *Heike* corpus in constructing their long-term reputations.[27]

The influence of the *Heike* corpus in this selective interpretation is clear. Inobe Jūichirō, for example, in his discussions on the 1170 *Denka Noriai* incident, passionately defends Kiyomori's eldest son, Shigemori, against all criticism, citing the *Heike Monogatari* as validation of his positive character.[28] Other historical figures, such as Kiyomori's second son, Motomori, have been erased, with many scholars referring to Munemori as the second son instead.[29] The apparent lack of interest in the less heroic or famous characters of the Genpei War demonstrates that there are still areas of the *Heike Monogatari* that need deeper examination. While studies of the popular figures remain relevant to the field, excessive focus on their actions alone risks creating a warped perception of Genpei War Tales through selective character analysis. Although attempting to study every character from any *Heike* corpus narrative would be prohibitive, there are cases where unfashionable characters – such as Motomori in *Genpei Jōsuiki* – play a more significant role in structuring the overall narrative than those with more popular acclaim (such as Giō). Many popular characters have become so thanks to the large body of additional material they inspired – such as plays, *setsuwa* or artwork – while their original War Tale depiction has a less emphatic impact on the overall narrative. This study will build on textual themes, rather than the actions of individuals in *Genpei Jōsuiki,* subsequently analysing characters whose actions help to inform understanding of this text, even if they are not considered popular by the field.

Defining and Contextualising the concept of 'Misconduct' and the 'Warrior'

The original title for this project used the word 'sin', rather than 'misconduct'. After misunderstandings when presenting to peers, it transpired that 'sin' was too loaded a term, and associated too deeply with religion, particularly in the West. While religious misconduct is not irrelevant to this study, its focus is not on my own perception of good or bad behaviour among the characters examined, but rather the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s own approach to whether an individual is transgressing or whether

[27] By contrast Kiyomori appears 159 times. Among Munemori's brothers, Shigemori appears 125 times, Tomomori appears 43 times, Shigehira appears 69 times and Motomori is omitted.
[28] Inobe, "Taira No Sukemori Jiken Kakusho," 323–24.
[29] One exception to this is Kusaka Tsutomu, whose article on Motomori remains one of the only studies on this historical figure. Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai."

their actions should be praised. This is not always a consistent definition. Theft, for example, can be both honourable and dishonourable, depending on the context in which it transpires. The decision to include 'misconduct' in the title stems from the fact that, in my research, the scenes where horses play particularly dominant and catalytic roles are often scenes in which an individual – or individuals – are criticised for certain behaviours. As the scene featuring the dispute between Nakatsuna and Munemori for ownership of the horse Konoshita (addressed in Chapter Two) explains, good horses are 'suspicious steeds' which lead men to destruction, and should be avoided at all costs.[30] My definition of 'misconduct' in the context of this study is behaviour which the text deems unseemly, whether it be the action of man or horse.

There are numerous terms in Japanese for the warrior, some of which are class or era specific. While discussion of rank and hierarchy is relevant to this thesis, a debate over the correct use of *tsuwamono, bushi, samurai, kerai, gokenin* or other terms is not helpful to the overall aim of this research, not least because the *Heike Monogatari* corpus texts circulated through different eras in which particular military customs may have applied. The Taira, in discussions on the *Heike* corpus, are sometimes classed as members of the court aristocracy, due to the ranks they were awarded. All of these things have helped, I feel, to distract the focus away from the core concept of the War Tale, which was a text about military success and failure within a wider social and ideological framework, and which would have both reflected and influenced warriors of various bloodlines and classes across different eras.[31] I therefore use the term 'warrior' to roughly encapsulate all the individuals involved in military activity within the *Heike* corpus, as well as those who may have received higher aristocratic rank, but whose fates were also, ultimately, decided on the field (or seas) of battle.

Genpei Jōsuiki often divides the opposing forces simply into 'Taira' and 'Minamoto', although there were multiple branches of each of these families, and not all those who actually fought on one or other side in the conflict necessarily identified themselves in this way. While *Genpei Jōsuiki* often generalises lesser warriors under these two umbrella terms, it is as well to remember that the most important branches of these families were the Seiwa Minamoto (led by Yoritomo, who established the first shogunate in Kamakura) and the Ise Taira (led by Kiyomori, whose family had

[30] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.
[31] Saeki, "'Heike Monogatari' Wa 'Gunki' Ka?"

influence in Kyoto government and imperial affairs in the latter half of the twelfth century). These are the 'Taira' and 'Minamoto' that play the greatest role in the case studies featured in this thesis.

A note on the Heike corpus texts used in this study.

For the purpose of this study, I have based the majority of my research on the published volumes of *Genpei Jōsuiki* produced by Miyai Shoten (1991- current) and edited by Matsuo Ashie et al. At present volume 8 remains unpublished, and so I have additionally drawn on the 1988 edition *Shintei Genpei Jōsuiki* (ed. Mizuhara Hajime and Matsuo Ashie, 6 volumes) for occasional references from books 43 to 48. The Miyai Shoten text is based on the 1605 printed edition of *Genpei Jōsuiki* and does not include formal titles of subscenes from each book, although it contains annotations which can be cross-referenced to the titles used in the Mizuhara and Matsuo edited edition, and so I have utilised these where relevant. Any major variations between the two editions of the text have been cited where necessary.

I have used the Bensei Shuppan 4 volume edition of the *Nagatobon Heike* (ed Asahara et al, 2004-2006), the *Engyōbon Chūshaku no Kai* edition of the *Engyōbon Heike* (Kyūko Shoin, 2005-current) up to volume 9 and the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* edition of the *Kakuichibon Heike Monogatari* (volumes 29 and 30, ed Ichiko Teiji, 1979).

Where the *Amakusabon* text is consulted, I have been fortunate enough to consult the original surviving 1593 edition held in the British Library.

All quoted translations are my own unless credited otherwise.

The *Heike* Corpus in Context – *Genpei Jōsuiki* and the Date Debate

Introduction

The context in which a War Tale evolved is an important part of understanding the narrative contained within. While not historically accurate sources for the Genpei period, the *Heike* corpus texts provide a glimpse into the mindset of the periods in which they are constructed. As the table of texts (fig 1) presented above shows, however, dating less well-known *Heike* variants remains problematic. Research concerning the dating of the *Engyōbon* demonstrates some of the pitfalls. In 1979, Mizuhara Hajime established a case for the *Engyōbon* as the oldest *Heike* text. Mizuhara's theory was based on a date written in the colophon, which, if accurate, dated the variant to 1309 – less than 150 years after the end of the Genpei War.[32] Modern scholarship mostly agrees with Mizuhara. The problem is that the surviving text was written down in the early fifteenth century – a hundred years after the proposed date. As Matthew Thompson has pointed out, it is difficult to know whether a date written by a copyist in the colophon of a fifteenth century text indicates the surviving work exactly matches the version from 1309.[33] Even if the colophon was written in good faith by the copyist, it does not rule out what may or may not have been inserted into the text between the presumed date of 1309 and the date the text was copied.

A similar, if more protracted problem exists for *Genpei Jōsuiki* as well, for, although some of the text is clearly drawn from much older source material, it is difficult to know how much the current version resembles what may have existed in the past. Both Elizabeth Oyler and Selinger have mentioned this problem with dating. Oyler states that the earliest surviving copies of *Genpei Jōsuiki* are from the Edo period (1600-1868), although she believes it is probably an older text.[34] Selinger is also vague in dating *Genpei Jōsuiki*, calling it "a late variant, and quite possibly the last of the extant versions."[35] Unlike Oyler, Selinger's book does not commit to an era when discussing *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s age, although in the abstract for her PhD thesis she more confidently posits that it was crafted in the 1390s.[36]

[32] Thompson, "The Tales of Yoshitsune," 48.
[33] Thompson, 48.
[34] Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 16.
[35] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 7.
[36] Selinger, "Fractured Histories," Abstract.

In Japanese scholarship, preoccupation with finding a date for *Genpei Jōsuiki* has dominated academic attention. Okada Mitsuko has researched its age extensively, and theorises that the earliest surviving text – an incomplete document known as the *Seikidōbon* - comes from 1556.[37] As with the *Engyōbon* case, Okada's evidence hinges on a note in the preface to one volume of the text, linking it to the second year of the Kōji era.[38] In this case, the incomplete nature of Okada's text also hampers our understanding of what form the full work might have taken. Mizuhara and Matsuo, in the preface to their publication of one *Genpei Jōsuiki* variant, posit a fourteenth century compilation, although the mediaeval sources they cite refer to '*Heike Monogatari*' rather than '*Genpei Jōsuiki*'.[39] In writing this preface, however, they acknowledge that it is difficult to know how much the text might have changed between this period and what survives to us today.[40] Indeed, it is also hard to know which specific "*Heike Monogatari*" in older records may indicate the proto-version of what we now call *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

Recent studies on a fragmentary text known as the *Nagato-gire*[41], elements of which resemble parts of *Genpei Jōsuiki*, have reopened the debate into the latter's origins.[42] Carbon testing on the *Nagato-gire* indicates a production window of 1260-1400, although, as Matsuo correctly states, errors in the dating or the use of old paper could also account for this early estimate.[43] While Ikeda Kazuomi has used the carbon testing to confidently posit a late thirteenth century production date for this text, there remain numerous problems and questions surrounding *Nagato-gire*'s influence on *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s creation.[44] As Matsuo points out, a text of such considerable size ought to have been mentioned in thirteenth century records, but no such reference exists.[45]

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[37] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*. Okada discusses various different academic editions and studies performed on Genpei Jōsuiki variants, from the five variations defined by Yamada Yoshio in 1911 to the current day. For a full discussion on these variations, see Okada, pages 1-5. Okada herself mentions fifteen variants which allegedly exist, of which she explicitly names the evidence for twelve (p.9-10).
[38] 「弘治二年二月日交合」"Compiled in the Second Month of the Second Year of Kōji" (My translation).The Kōji Era dated from 1555-1558.Okada, 5.
[39] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 1:9–15.
[40] [いずれも現在の盛衰記の本文とは一致しない。流動の複雑な過程のうち、ごく一部だけが我々の前に提示されているに過ぎないことを改めて考えさせられる] Mizuhara and Matsuo, 1:15.
[41] 長門切
[42] Matsuo, "Genpei Jōsuiki no san-byakunen," 17.
[43] Matsuo, 19.
[44] Ikeda, "Nagato-gire no kasokuki bunseki-hō ni yoru 14C nendai sokutei," 243. Ikeda discusses in depth the carbon testing of the document and its implications, as well as comparing extracts from the *Nagato-gire* and *Genpei Jōsuiki.*
[45] Matsuo, "Genpei Jōsuiki no san-byakunen," 19.

Moreover, as the research of Ōya Sadanori demonstrates, the use of language in *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that the influence of later centuries on the textual content cannot be ignored.[46] This leaves scholars with an extremely wide potential production window, from as early as the late thirteenth century, to as late as the 1550s. Clearly this poses a problem for evaluating *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a text within a particular context – and for understanding the motives underpinning its scene construction.

The primary intention of this project was to evaluate how the role of the horse informed *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s content, identifying key themes that would broaden understanding of the messages contained within this expansive text. The close textual analysis in the later chapters of this thesis show the important role of the horse within *Genpei Jōsuiki* and other *Heike* corpus texts and its value for identifying the specific key themes and ideas within this variant. As mentioned in the Thesis Introduction, this analysis presented an additional hypothesis regarding *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s potential production date. A greater awareness of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s key themes not only demonstrates the differences between this Genpei narrative and more well-known performance texts, but also offers clues as to the context in which this version of the *Heike Monogatari* was both circulated and compiled.

The structure and format of stories within this text, and the role played by the horse in constructing them, offers compelling insight into the period in which *Genpei Jōsuiki* may have been produced. This textual analysis, combined with research into the records and history surrounding *Genpei Jōsuiki*, suggest that this is, in fact, a construct of the sixteenth century, rather than the fourteenth. While it clearly references older content, I argue that it is probable the text that survives to us today – in fact, the text known as *Genpei Jōsuiki* overall – likely dates from the end of the Warring States period. While based on circumstantial evidence, it offers a platform for further research beyond the scope of this thesis, while also underscoring the main message of the text which has often been overlooked.

As already stated, the work of scholars like Ikeda and Ōya reveal the conflicting theories regarding *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s origins. Despite this lack of consensus, it is possible to identify two points about which there is general agreement. Firstly, however old the

[46] Ōya, "Genpei Jōsuiki no Seiritsu Nendai no Suitei," 63–64.

text, there are no surviving editions of *Genpei Jōsuiki* that predate the sixteenth century. Okada Mitsuko's study on the fragmentary *Seikidōbon Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests a possible earliest date of 1556 for a surviving incomplete manuscript.[47] Although many questions remain regarding that date, it is true that complete manuscripts survive from the 1570s, and printed versions believed to date from around 1605. Secondly, *Genpei Jōsuiki* was influential during the Edo period (1600-1868), where it inspired dramatic adaptations, including the *Hiragana Seisuiki,* and was abridged into illustrated texts like the *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, both of which will be cited later in the thesis.[48] It also acted as a historical source for Rai San'yo in the nineteenth century composition of the influential restoration text, *Nihon Gaishi* (Unofficial History of Japan).[49] *Genpei Jōsuiki* remained relevant into the modern period, as it was in print well into the Taishō era. It also provided inspiration during the Pacific War for examples of martial spirit, designed to encourage young people to fight for the national cause.[50] Even today, at sites such as the grave of Tomoakira, mentioned in Chapter One, *Genpei Jōsuiki* maintains a presence. Leaflets available at the Takakura Shrine in Kizugawa, near Tamamizu, also quote *Genpei Jōsuiki* alongside the better-known *Kakuichibon* text.[51] These quotations describe the final acts of the Prince, Mochihito, whose key involvement in the Genpei story is discussed in Chapter Two.

The constant presence of *Genpei Jōsuiki* in records and adaptations between the late sixteenth and twentieth centuries contrasts starkly with the complete dearth of references made in earlier source material. Although we cannot rule out the possibility of records having been destroyed through fire or conflict during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we equally cannot assume such evidence must have existed. Peter Kornicki points out that Tokugawa Ieyasu claimed all old texts had been lost during the period since the Ōnin War of the 1460s.[52] While important to keep this in mind, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of Ieyasu's statement, given that many texts from prior to the Edo period did indeed survive the Warring States era. It is impossible to know how much this claim was part of his own propaganda in establishing himself as a figure who protected the nation's literature. As already mentioned, Matsuo and Mizuhara suggest

[47] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*, 5.
[48] *Nihon Gikyoku Zenshū*, 34:3–46. *Genpei Seisuiki Zue.*
[49] *Nihon Gaishi*.
[50] Hiruma, *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*.
[51] Takakura Shrine, "Takakura Jinja to Mochihito-Ō."
[52] Kornicki, "Books in the Service of Politics:," 79.

older records denoting *Heike Monogatari* may refer to a proto-*Jōsuiki* text, but this is also difficult to prove. Many surviving texts today still carry the name *Heike Monogatari* and identifying which of these in earlier records may signify *Genpei Jōsuiki* is problematic.[53]

This section pulls together circumstantial evidence drawn from the close textual analyses conducted in Chapters One to Four, to make a case for *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a construction of the sixteenth century, rather than the fourteenth. In making this assertion, I acknowledge that, in the sixteenth century, *Genpei Jōsuiki* existed in multiple versions. One was lost in the Tokyo Earthquake of 1923, and others survive in fragmentary states with unclear dates of production. For this reason, my hypotheses are based around the version known to have been first printed in 1605. It is this version that this thesis will use in all its textual analyses and on which I base the remainder of my study, with the assumption that a text interesting enough to be printed at the dawn of the Edo period must surely have had provenance in the years before.

The Provenance of Genpei Jōsuiki *in Historical Records*

We do not know what the base text for *Genpei Jōsuiki* may have been, or what early name it might have existed under. What is clear is that the term *Genpei Jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記 (also glossed *Genpei Seisuiki*) does not appear in historical records until the mid-late sixteenth century. The earliest possible diary references to *Genpei Jōsuiki* appear in the *Oyudono no Ue no Nikki*, a collective diary of successive incumbents between 1477 and the nineteenth century. An entry for the 21st day of the 4th month of Tenshō 3 (1575) mentions a text entitled *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* (げんへいせいしの御そうし)[54]. This text is generally assumed to be *Genpei Jōsuiki*.[55]

The name difference indicates one of two possibilities. Either the *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* is a separate text that no longer survives, or, which is perhaps more likely, *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* should be considered an early name for *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Although the title is mostly written in *kana* script, rather than kanji graphs, the meaning of the title can be inferred as "The Book of the Lives and Deaths of the Genji and the Taira". The title of *Genpei Jōsuiki* itself can be translated as "The Record of the Rise

[53] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 1:15.
[54] *Oyudono No Ue No Nikki*, 7:176.
[55] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*, 5.

and Fall of the Genji and the Taira", which carries a similar nuance. The use of the characters *jōsui* 盛衰 (literally success and decline), a contraction of the Buddhist term *jōsha hissui* 盛者必衰 (the mighty must fall, an indicator of the impermanence of all things), however, implies a stronger and more fixed message than just a tale of life and death. The phrase *jōsha hissui* appears in the opening sections of all versions of the *Heike Monogatari*, including *Genpei Jōsuiki*, demonstrating that, despite its distinct name, the *Jōsuiki* is still a part of the *Heike* corpus.[56]

Despite these nuanced naming differences, if *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* were to be a separate text, it would indicate that the earliest reference to *Genpei Jōsuiki* in records apparently occurs in the 1580s, in negotiations over claims to land. A record of a discussion between military representatives from Kii Province, dated 25th day of the 3rd month of Tenshō 13 (1585) cites evidence from *Genpei Jōsuiki* as proof for the superior claim to power of their family line.[57] For the text to be known well enough for individuals to cite it in support of their claims implies that some form of it must have been in circulation before this date. This, coupled with Okada's tentative 1556 date for the *Seikidōbon* fragmentary version of the text suggests that, probably, *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* is a reference to an evolving version of the *Heike Monogatari*. This likely consolidated between 1575 and 1585 into some form of *Genpei Jōsuiki* and is subsequently referenced in this discussion over land. The idea that *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* is a less finalised version of *Genpei Jōsuiki* can also be intimated by the way in which the *Oyudono no Ue no Nikki* records it. The writer states, "I told the Chief Minister of the Left about the *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi*." (*Saemon no Kami ni genhei seishi no on-soushi moushi-itasarete*).[58] Though a circumstantial interpretation, the fact this is a topic of discussion between people around court suggests this text is something new that is being constructed and evolved at this time. The overall concept of constructing and polishing *Genpei Jōsuiki* into the text we know today may, therefore, have been ongoing throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

The record in 1585 is a significant moment in the late sixteenth century, as Toyotomi Hideyoshi had attained the rank of Regent only some three weeks before. The use of this text under his hegemony and to justify land claims during his rule indicates it

[56] Kusaka Tsutomu has discussed in detail the evolution of this phrase in War Tales such as the *Heike* corpus. Kusaka, *Heike Monogatari Tendoku*, 3–8.
[57] "Kii no Kuni Chishiyusho Shosō (1585)," 283.
[58] *Oyudono No Ue No Nikki*, 7:176.

probably had a presence within his governmental structure. The second half of the sixteenth century marked the end of the Warring States period, when Oda Nobunaga, Hideyoshi himself, and, ultimately, Tokugawa Ieyasu attempted to glue Japan's military fragments back together into a united polity. These individuals all contributed to ending the protracted period of civil wars, bringing Japan back under some form of collective government.

As the textual analysis in Chapters One to Four will demonstrate, one of the key themes at work within *Genpei Jōsuiki* is that actions are only legitimated when they are in the common interest, rather than founded in personal ambition. The political state of the nation in the latter part of the sixteenth century represented a land divided into factions and political strongholds controlled by powerful landlords looking to expand their own agendas. With the erosion of power held by the Ashikaga shogunate from the 1460s, central government all but broke down. From Nobunaga through to Ieyasu, however, concerted attempts to rein in the power of these individual magnates was a key policy. Hideyoshi in particular succeeded in gaining the loyalty of those who had opposed him by rewarding their adherence to his authority with land and influence in the new governmental structure.[59] Hideyoshi also supported the Imperial family, utilising the Emperor as a form of legitimacy for his own rising political position.[60] These ideas were consolidated by Tokugawa Ieyasu and his successors during the Edo period. The approach of *Genpei Jōsuiki* thus echoes the intentions of these individuals as they tried to bring the military families of Japan under one collective regime. This stance is explicitly stated in scenes such as that discussed in Chapter 2, where the fortunes of two Chinese Emperors, Mu and Wendi are contrasted. Wendi, by failing to act on his own ambition (represented by the swift horse) and instead choosing to work together with his fellows, is successful in bringing peace and prosperity to the realm. This anecdote does not appear in any of the *Heike Monogatari* texts known to come from the fourteenth century, such as the *Engyōbon* and the *Kakuichibon*, but its message is particularly pertinent to the Unification rhetoric of the sixteenth.

If we hypothesise the reference in the *Oyudono no Ue no Nikki* to *Genhei Seishi no On-Soushi* demonstrates a newly constructed text still in the process of evolving into what we know today as *Genpei Jōsuiki*, we must also acknowledge that the content is not entirely invented in the sixteenth century. While it seems likely that no text under

[59] Kuroshima, *Tenka Tōitsu*, 11–12.
[60] Kuroshima, 34–37.

the name of *Genpei Jōsuiki* existed prior to the 1550s, the document itself is a wealth of information, drawn from a multitude of diverse sources. This pool of source material undoubtedly included scenes from earlier *Heike* texts, explaining the similarities between some of its accounts and those contained particularly in the *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon* texts. None of these scenes are identical, however, demonstrating a creative input as well. Other sources, such as court diaries, can also be found as a basis in this text. The account of the *Denka Noriai* incident, discussed in Chapter Four, shows closer adherence to court records, such as those contained in the *Gyokuyō* diary, making *Genpei Jōsuiki* unusual among *Heike* variants in not placing Taira no Sukemori on horseback. The thorough nature of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s information gathering – which led Matsuo Ashie to term it an all-encompassing 'world of the text' – means that in some places multiple possible explanations are given for the origin of the same event, sometimes with added political bias.[61] Again, this can be seen in the accounts of the *Denka Noriai* scene, where the possibility of Shigemori's involvement is both mentioned and negated in the space of a few words.[62]

The use of older texts as reference materials also helps to explain Ikeda's findings as regards the dating of the fragmentary text, the *Nagato-gire*. Ikeda's research posits an earliest possible date for the *Nagato-gire* as being 1280, based on the result of carbon dating.[63] Ōya Sadanori, however, argues persuasively that the influence of later centuries on *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s text cannot be ignored. Ōya highlights the use of a single term, *bunmawashi*[64], which, through cross-referencing dictionary entries, he dates to an earliest provenance of 1530, more than two hundred years beyond the date posited by Ikeda for the *Nagato-gire*.[65] Furthermore, Ōya indicates how *Genpei Jōsuiki* adds to and tempers the representation of particular characters, turning the black and white depictions seen in *Kakuichi* and *Engyōbon* into a more nuanced account.[66] These shades of grey imply additions or edits made to the text. For Ōya, the incomplete state of the *Nagato-gire* impairs our ability to understand how similar a text it might have been to the *Genpei Jōsuiki* extant today, and he argues that the surviving text involves

[61] Matsuo, *Heike monogatari ronkyū*, 119.
[62] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:78.
[63] Ikeda, "Nagato-gire no kasokuki bunseki-hō ni yoru 14C nendai sokutei."
[64] 分廻し – "compass dividers". The term is not found, according to Ōya, in other variant *Heike* texts.
[65] Ōya, "Genpei Jōsuiki no Seiritsu Nendai no Suitei," 63–64.
[66] Ōya, 65–68.

contributions from later centuries in both vocabulary and ideology.[67] How much these fragmented sources can be connected to *Genpei Jōsuiki* is still a matter for debate. Matsuo reinforces this perspective when directly addressing the *Nagato-gire,* for although he points out the similarities between some segments and *Genpei Jōsuiki*, he also acknowledges how other sections do not resemble the *Jōsuiki* at all.[68] It seems plausible that the segments which do resemble the *Jōsuiki* are drawn from one of the many source texts included in its compilation. These texts may no longer survive into the modern era. The *Nagato-gire*'s fragmented and incomplete condition makes it difficult to estimate what the original full document may have looked like. There are simply too many gaps, inconsistencies and unanswered questions to confidently posit at this point that the *Nagato-gire* is in any way the original form of *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

What seems clear from the later records is that, although some of its stories were adapted into art and literature, *Genpei Jōsuiki* was not constructed to be a placatory text, nor a work of fiction. As Selinger has identified, in the Tokugawa period it was considered a true history and was incorporated into performances, not just for dramatic value, but also as a form of legitimacy for the actions of characters.[69] *Genpei Jōsuiki* appears to have been used by the ruling elite in a political manner, acting to legitimise claims and offer historical context, as with the example from Kii Province, mentioned earlier. This means that its content should be considered not for its aesthetic value, but for what it can tell us about the mindset of the people who compiled it and the motives of those who sponsored its production and distribution. This aspect of *Genpei Jōsuiki* has thus far been largely overlooked in modern scholarship, and this section will explore some of these possibilities, evaluating the existing evidence alongside the findings from deep textual analysis.

The Textual Message of Genpei Jōsuiki *– from 'Shinto'*[70] *to symbolism.*

A reference in the diary of the Shinto Priest, Bonshun, from the 26th day of the 5th month of Keichō (1597), gives the tantalising piece of information that he is to copy the *Genpei Jōsuiki* for Ishida Mitsunari, a staunch military supporter of Hideyoshi and a

[67] Ōya, 70–71.
[68] Matsuo, "Genpei Jōsuiki no san-byakunen," 17.
[69] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 67.
[70] Although the term 'shinto' is a post-Meiji one, for the purpose of this thesis it is convenient to refer to practices relating to kami worship by this somewhat anachronistic title.

key individual in his administration.[71] Bonshun (1553-1632), a member of the Yoshida family, was an influential Shinto practitioner during the period of Japan's unification and the early years of the Tokugawa shogunate. He was actively involved in Hideyoshi's memorials, and in particular the establishment of the Toyokuni Shrine, a shrine essentially designed to deify Hideyoshi's memory.[72] This instruction from one of Hideyoshi's most loyal retainers, places *Genpei Jōsuiki* in direct contact with Hideyoshi's inner circle, and Mitsunari in particular seems to have valued the text highly.[73] These accounts indicate that Bonshun was in possession of a copy of *Genpei Jōsuiki* during the 1590s, although when he obtained it, or how much his version resembled surviving texts today is unknown. This thesis has used as its basis the best-known surviving *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, printed in 1605, less than ten years after Bonshun mentions it in his diary. Circumstantial evidence from this text suggests that what we know today as *Genpei Jōsuiki* may have been strongly influenced by this powerful Shinto priest.

Genpei Jōsuiki contains several passages of Shinto rhetoric not found in other versions of the *Heike Monogatari*. There are also many references to *daimyōjin*, (literally, 'great bright deity'), a title that was strongly associated with Yoshida Shinto practice, and that was given to Hideyoshi himself following his death and deification.[74] *Genpei Jōsuiki* includes many references to both Buddhist and Confucian values as well, but scenes like the discussion between court exiles Shunkan and Yasuyori on the remote island of Kikaigashima highlight the prominent importance of *kami* worship and its strong relationship to Buddhist practice.[75] In the course of this debate, Shunkan ridicules the idea that worshipping a *kami* at a shrine can lead to salvation, claiming that only the *nenbutsu* is needed, and that an individual can only save their own soul, not rely on outside forces. When he says this, the entire landscape shakes, and a harsh wind suddenly blows across the island. Yasuyori explains that *kami* worship is a vital component and intertwined with the Buddhist faith. He outlines this further by pointing out that the distance of Japan from India means that without additional help, remoteness from Buddhism might lead to wild behaviour. *Kami* worship helps to reduce this, by

[71] *Shunkyūki*, 1:92. Further references to the *Genpei Jōsuiki* from the same year are made on the 1st of the Tenth Month and on the 11th and the 16th of the twelfth month. pp.106, 114, 115.
[72] Hardacre, *Shinto*, 231.
[73] Imai, *Ishida Mitsunari*, 230.
[74] Hardacre, *Shinto*, 231.
[75] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 2:89–94.

making *kami* manifestations of Buddhas. He finishes his discourse by stating that the two have an equal relationship and both need to flourish for the people to be happy. Summing up his argument, he asks how a lord can be a lord without his subjects, and how a priest can be a priest without the support of the *kami*.[76] This strong emphasis on the role of Shinto as an equal and significant part of religious dogma among the populace suggests it may have been added by someone with a close knowledge and vested interest in this form of faith practice.

References to the power of *kami* feature frequently throughout the text – for example, the story of Sanekata who is killed because he disrespects a female deity.[77] The *kami*, who he considers too minor to acknowledge, becomes enraged when Sanekata refuses to dismount his horse in deference to her superior status. She smites down both man and horse, and the text tells us that Sanekata's grave remains beside her shrine, presumably as a lesson to those who dare to insult the power of the *kami*. This idea of a *kami* influencing life and death appears several times in the text, most dramatically when Yukiie claims that Kiyomori was slain by Amaterasu's arrow of justice.[78] *Genpei Jōsuiki* also incorporates frequent references to Hachiman, the *kami* who is considered the titular deity of the Minamoto themselves, and who would subsequently go on to become the protective *kami* of warriors in general. Yoritomo, Yoshitsune and Yoshinaka, the principal Minamoto warriors in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, often pause to pay their respects to Hachiman at various shrines along the way, and their battle fortunes are often credited to their observance of these rites.[79] An individual with Bonshun's influence would have easily been able to insert such rhetoric when copying it, although it is also possible that the text was in Bonshun's possession because of the Shinto content. While we cannot state that Bonshun wrote *Genpei Jōsuiki* – not least because Okada's research implies the text may have been evolving in the 1550s – it is possible that he helped it to take the form that we now recognise today.

While it may not yet have received its final formal title in the 1570s, it is clear from the military records and Bonshun's diary that *Genpei Jōsuiki* existed as an entity by the 1580s and was becoming increasingly prominent during the 1590s. If we consider that the text we know today was probably finalised during Hideyoshi's

[76] 「民ナクハ君ヒトリ公タランヤ。神ナクハ法独タランヤ。」2:94.
[77] 2:23.
[78] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:88.
[79] For example, Yoshinaka and Chikatada before Kurikara. These religious rites also include offerings of horses. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:93–94.

incumbency, then the stories of the foolish Emperor Mu and the wise Emperor Wendi (discussed in Chapter Two) once more become relevant. In describing Wendi's benevolence, the text talks about the 'healing' of the realm and mentions its return to prosperity. The characters utilised for this statement are 「豊国」(*toyokuni*), the same characters that make up the name of the shrine where Hideyoshi was installed and memorialised as a *kami* following his death in 1598.

Another scene in *Genpei Jōsuiki* seems to blur the history it is telling with the political present of Hideyoshi's rule, and it too is formulated around Shinto ideology. This is the account of the dream of a retainer belonging to the Minamoto Middle Counsellor, Girai. The scene describes a meeting of deities, in which Amaterasu requests that the Tsutsumu sword, a symbol of authority given by the Imperial house to smite the crown's enemies, be taken from Kiyomori's care and entrusted to Yoritomo. In the dream, the deity of the Kasuga shrine asks that the sword be given to his descendants after Yoritomo's line ends. The Kasuga deity is the titular deity of the Regental Fujiwara house. This episode can be seen as an anachronistic reference to the practice of taking Fujiwara sons as symbolic Shoguns by the Hōjō following the death of Yoritomo's last descendent in 1219. The *Engyōbon* and *Kakuichibon* texts clearly draw a direct connection between the Fujiwara, their deity and the dream's meaning for their family.[80] *Genpei Jōsuiki* is less clear. Although it goes on to reference the idea of Fujiwara being taken to the Kantō, it avoids mention of them specifically when it claims that, when the time of the Minamoto and the Taira has exhausted itself, a single Regent will take on the Imperial command in place of the Shogun and will bring peace to the realm.[81] This statement is clearly distinguishing a Regent from a symbolic Shogun sent from the court to fill the political void. Because it does not directly tie this individual to the Fujiwara, it is possible to read this as a reference to Hideyoshi, the man of common blood, who would become Regent in 1585, and who would manage to predominately unify Japan by the time of his death in 1598. This argument is especially compelling as Hideyoshi came to power after the destruction of the Ashikaga (Minamoto) government, and the assassination of Oda Nobunaga, who identified himself with the Taira. In this way, Hideyoshi appears as a Regent unifying the land after the exhaustion

[80] *Engyōbon*, 2:573; *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:367.
[81] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:165.

of these two clans, taking on the previous shogunal duty of the Ashikaga to govern and protect the realm.

If such propagandistic clues as these can be located within the heavy prose of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, then it is also possible to interpret the case of Mitsuhira, cited in Chapter One, as a political allegory.[82] Mitsuhira, a young warrior, disobeys his father and takes the horse he has been forbidden to ride. In the ensuing battle, he loses control, rides into the enemy fortress and is cut down. The story of Mitsuhira also includes a retainer, of lower birth, called Mitsukage, who nonetheless is capable of riding and managing this wild beast that Mitsuhira cannot control. As Chapter Three addresses, loyalty is a significant motif in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. This story can be read in this context as a moral tale about obeying one's father and one's lord, but it could also carry deeper political implications. In 1582, Hideyoshi's lord, Nobunaga, was overthrown and killed by one of his close allies, Akechi Mitsuhide. Mitsuhide was soon overcome by Hideyoshi and other warriors loyal to Nobunaga, and thus destroyed.[83] If Mitsuhira is representative of Mitsuhide, an individual disobeying his lord and trying to claim power he cannot handle, Hideyoshi is the loyal retainer, who, despite his low birth, is capable of managing the power and influence Mitsuhide cannot. While we cannot prove that this story is intended to reference these political events, the possibility cannot be ruled out. It is probably not an accident that the horse in this scene is given exceptional power and strength, and is larger in size even than Ikezuki, the beast with liminal properties discussed in Chapter Three. For a lesser warrior to possess a horse of superior power and influence in a minor scene within a bigger text seems unusual, especially given the hierarchical significance of equine depiction within *Genpei Jōsuiki*. If we understand Mitsukage as representing Hideyoshi taking control of Nobunaga's legacy, however, then the emphasis on the power of this animal and its superiority even to the famous Ikezuki makes sense.

The story of Mitsuhira is not included in other *Heike Monogatari* variants, and nor is another anecdote, also discussed in Chapter One, which depicts the loyalty and self-sacrifice of a lower warrior called Shigemitsu. Shigemitsu's dedication to his master, both in avenging the man's death and then taking his own life in order to accompany his lord to the next life is greeted with great acclaim by all who witness it.[84]

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[82] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:139–41.
[83] Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 71–76.
[84] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:97–99.

Genpei Jōsuiki uses this, and other similar stories of exceptional individual conduct, to emphasise the idea that meritorious actions, rather than birth rank, are what makes a successful soldier. As with the story of Mitsuhira, this highlighting of the lesser warrior and the meritocratic attitude towards their activities may also have been written with Hideyoshi's achievements in mind.

Genpei Jōsuiki and Oda Nobunaga's Heritage

Thus far this thesis has argued that the majority of the story-telling contained within *Genpei Jōsuiki* was consolidated throughout the last decades of the sixteenth century. If, based on the evolving title in the 1570s, creation around this text and its contents were largely fluid during the latter half of the sixteenth century, it follows that the most frequently circulated text that survives today might also contain aspects that can be traced back to Oda Nobunaga – not least because, as Hideyoshi's lord, Nobunaga's legacy gave Hideyoshi's incumbency a level of military and political legitimacy in spite of his low birth.

Hori Shin has suggested that the messages and motifs of the *Heike Monogatari* were significantly influential among Oda Nobunaga's kinsfolk and inner circle, and that Nobunaga himself may have chosen to align his family with the Taira name in order to distance himself from the toxic state of the Ashikaga shogunate.[85] Hori cites evidence of Nobunaga's subordinates worrying about negative portrayals of the Taira and whether it would cause offence. The *Heike* was, however, still performed and present at his administration.[86] The *Genpei Jōsuiki* displays indignation when discussing crimes against the established structure of court society. This is seen in the *Denka Noriai* incident discussed in Chapter Four – a clash between Taira no Sukemori and the Regent, Motofusa, on the streets of Kyō, leading to a later revenge attack on the Regent's carriage on the day of the Emperor's Coming-of-Age ceremony. The text's criticism may indicate that a stronger moral message was inserted during this time period, although this does not explain the harsher criticism of the Taira as a whole.

Mitigating that fact is the removal of guilt in the *Denka Noriai* incident from Taira no Sukemori to his uncle, Motomori and his grandfather, Kiyomori. Nobunaga's claim of Taira descent was alleged to come through Sukemori's son Chikazane, a claim made by the *Oda Keizu* family tree constructed in the latter half of the sixteenth

[85] Hori, "Heike Monogatari to Oda Nobunaga."
[86] Hori, 109.

century.[87] While Nobunaga's claims are impossible to verify, his decision to identify himself with this lineage may also have led to a shift in perceptions surrounding Shigemori's line. Shigemori, as Sukemori's father, would also be considered a blood ancestor of Nobunaga's family. While Shigemori is often considered to have been Kiyomori's *de-facto* heir, the family passed to Munemori on Kiyomori's death, and as a result, Shigemori's sons were excluded from the inheritance. The *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s absolution of Sukemori, the curse and redemption of Motomori (analysed in Chapter Four) and the emphatic and systematic destruction of Munemori (referenced in Chapter Two) all tie in to a sixteenth century attempt to absolve Shigemori's family – with whom Nobunaga identifies - of blame. This distinction allows Sukemori to appear a victim, not a villain, permitting Nobunaga to view himself as not only a valid claimant to the Taira name, but there to right the chaos created by the collapsing Ashikaga shogunate, without the stigma of the Dannoura disgrace. By blaming Munemori, Motomori and Kiyomori for the destruction of Taira fortunes, Shigemori, Sukemori and their descendants become innocent bystanders absolved of a part in the chaos. By adopting Nobunaga's mantle, Hideyoshi's administration bolstered these claims, rather than undermining them.

The inclusion of Motomori in *Genpei Jōsuiki* may well have been designed to help steer blame away from Sukemori's line, but his involvement in this text also helps to demonstrate how *Genpei Jōsuiki* differs from the War Tales circulating in the fourteenth century. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, Kusaka Tsutomu draws attention to Motomori's omission from historical records of the fourteenth century that refer to the Genpei War, including the *Hōryakukanki* (1340s-70s).[88] He also cites changes made to the *Heiji Monogatari*, where older editions include Motomori, but later ones omit him. The later versions of the text, such as the *Kotohirabon Heiji*, went on to become more widely disseminated. Kusaka suggests that this was due to its greater consistency with the *Heike* corpus narrative, which, in the fourteenth century, had omitted Motomori completely from the Taira family. While the *Hōgen Monogatari* continued to include Motomori, Kusaka's work highlights how little this was performed by *biwa hōshi* throughout the fourteenth century, and how few plays it inspired compared with the *Heike Monogatari* and *Heiji Monogatari* texts.[89] This may suggest

[87] Plutschow, *Japan's Name Culture*, 156.
[88] *Hōryakukanki*.
[89] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 65.

that it escaped being amended in the manner of the *Heiji Monogatari*, as it was not as influential in fourteenth century popular culture.

Genpei Jōsuiki's inclusion of Motomori contradicts the trend in fourteenth century War Tale texts to omit him. Although it is true that Motomori is present in the older *Hōgen Monogatari* versions, the inconsistency with which Motomori is used in *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests added or inserted information into existing material where relevant, rather than an original text that predates his erasure in other variants. Where the *Hōgen Monogatari* is consistent in its use of Motomori, *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes Munemori the second son in most scenes but gives the title to Motomori wherever he appears. This raises the possibility that the Motomori episodes were consciously inserted *into Genpei Jōsuiki* during its compilation. It is unlikely that this took place in the Nanbokuchō period (1336-1392), where Motomori's presence was actively being occluded. Instead, *Genpei Jōsuiki* allows him to play an active role in diverting blame and censure from Sukemori and his alleged descendants, enabling Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, who drew his legitimacy from his role as Nobunaga's loyal retainer, to identify with the Taira without being tainted by the family's negative reputation. This acts as further circumstantial evidence that *Genpei Jōsuiki* came into being in the sixteenth century – not just in name, but also in content.

Genpei Jōsuiki *and the early Tokugawa Period*

Genpei Jōsuiki continued to have a significant presence throughout the Tokugawa period.[90] The ideology of loyalty to one's lord above one's own interests and a willingness to fight for the common good are themes that remained prevalent throughout the Edo period. *Genpei Jōsuiki* is believed to have been in print by around 1605, during Ieyasu's rule, and was subsequently printed at least twice during his lifetime.[91] It remained in print in various forms throughout the Edo period (including abridged and illustrated versions such as *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*). It is not possible to prove that Ieyasu himself had *Genpei Jōsuiki* printed, but printing itself was still in the early stages in 1605, and required influential patronage. The first printed texts in Japan had come about through the Jesuit influence in Amakusa (including the 1592 *Amakusabon*

[90] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 22.
[91] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*, 5–6.

Heike Monogatari) and through printing methods adopted from Korea during Hideyoshi's ill-fated invasion attempts.[92]

For *Genpei Jōsuiki* to go into print so early on demonstrates that it had a value and influence in this early Tokugawa polity, and would have needed the authority and backing of someone high up in Ieyasu's administration, even if Ieyasu himself was not responsible. In fact, Ieyasu had a keen interest in printing, as Kornicki observes.[93] Ieyasu is known to have had printed the tenth century text *Engishiki* (Engi Era Proceedings), the thirteenth century shogunal history *Azuma Kagami* (Mirror of the East) and many classical Chinese Confucian texts. Kornicki identifies that, in 1596, Ieyasu also ordered to have printed a set of 48 military manuscripts from his personal book collection, which he claimed were passed down through the Minamoto family.[94] While we cannot prove this is *Genpei Jōsuiki,* Ieyasu's interest in the Genpei period is made clear by his decision to print *Azuma Kagami*, while *Genpei Jōsuiki,* in surviving manuscripts, comprises forty-eight volumes. This instruction predates the request to Bonshun to copy *Genpei Jōsuiki* for Ishida Mitsunari by only a year, though it is difficult to know whether the two incidences have any connection without knowing for certain whether Ieyasu did indeed order *Genpei Jōsuiki* to be printed as early as 1596.

This assertion requires far more research to make it viable, beyond the remit of this thesis, but the fact remains that *Genpei Jōsuiki* was in circulation among senior figures in the shogunal government from the very early years of the Tokugawa regime, and was in print by 1605. Its continued presence among the ruling elite is illustrated by an entry in the *Sunpuki* diary, dated 1611. This diary, written by shogunal employee Gotō Mitsutsugu, was compiled during Ieyasu's retirement from central government between 1611 and 1615.[95] This entry describes a meeting in which the historical accounts contained in *Genpei Jōsuiki* are compared to those in the *Azuma Kagami*.[96] Here *Genpei Jōsuiki* is being contrasted with a text that is largely considered a 'historical' record, rather than with a literary text, again indicating that it was viewed in this light. The ability of these military officials to discuss these two texts in detail also demonstrates a deep understanding of the contents of both, and *Azuma Kagami* is known to have been printed by Ieyasu's direct order. The inclusion in this diary, which

[92] Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 123.
[93] Kornicki, "Books in the Service of Politics:," 74.
[94] Kornicki, 76–77.
[95] Kornicki, 72.
[96] *Hisakankin*, 429.

has direct connections to Ieyasu's later years, provides further weight to the speculation that Ieyasu was instrumental in having *Genpei Jōsuiki* printed and circulated. Even after Ieyasu's death, references to *Genpei Jōsuiki* in significant political circles can still be found. A diary entry from the *Go-jibun no Nikki*, dated the 5th day of the 8th month, 1659, refers to the reading of the '*Jōsuiki*'.[97] Although not explicitly labelled here as *Genpei Jōsuiki*, its prominent circulation prior to 1659 makes it possible to infer that this is, indeed, the text being mentioned.

*Genpei Jōsuiki'*s early Edo period influence can also be seen in the production of other texts that use it as a basis or influence for their own accounts. Texts such as *Genpei Ikusa Monogatari* (1656) and the *Yoritomo Ikusa Monogatari* (1685) demonstrate a continued interest in the Genpei Period. As Itō Shingo has pointed out, the text of *Genpei Ikusa Monogatari* in particular privileges the *Genpei Jōsuiki* over other *Heike Monogatari* versions as source material, even lifting passages directly.[98] Both *Genpei Ikusa Monogatari* and the *Yoritomo Ikusa Monogatari* focus more on the success of Yoritomo than the causes of the war, and this may explain the decision to prioritise *Genpei Jōsuiki's* version of events.[99] Chapter Three explores in more detail *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s proactive approach to presenting Yoritomo's legitimacy and pivotal position in the military hierarchy. Kudō Sayumi's research on the *Genpei Seisuiki Emaki* (c.1661-73) also demonstrates the different evolving mediums through which this version of the *Heike Monogatari* continued to be disseminated by the political elite during the first century of the Edo period.[100]

Tsugunobu's horse and Kenreimon'in's lover – themes of a later age.

This study has already addressed some of the thematic content within *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and the way this prose can be interpreted as propaganda for the sixteenth century political regimes, rather than those of the fourteenth. Furthermore, the absence of records mentioning *Genpei Jōsuiki* prior to 1575 raises questions about whether this text existed in an earlier period. The alterations and evolutions of aspects contained within the stories of *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggest a deep working knowledge of existing materials and source records, but do not necessarily prove an older provenance. As will be addressed in Chapter One, the story of Tsugunobu and the role of the horse,

[97] "Go-Jibun No Nikki."
[98] Itō, "Genpei Ikusa Monogatari no Kisoteki Kōsatsu," 212, 214.
[99] Itō, 210.
[100] Kudō, "Mito Tokugawa-ke Kyūzō 'Genpei Jōsuiki Emaki' ni tsuite," 337.

Tayūguro, in his memorial service provides another clue to the ideological context in which this text can be placed. *Genpei Jōsuiki* talks about Tsugunobu being guided to the afterlife by the horse, suggesting the ability of Tayūguro to cross between the worlds of the living and dead.[101] This idea is not conveyed in earlier *Heike Monogatari* texts, but does appear in the *Gikeiki*, a chronicle of the life of Tsugunobu's master, Yoshitsune.[102] While *Gikeiki* is thought to have been composed in the fifteenth century, surviving versions, as with *Genpei Jōsuiki*, date from the sixteenth century or later.[103] It is not possible to know what changes or alterations may have been made to this text in comparison with earlier versions, but it seems unlikely that the liminal nature of Tayūguro as a beast that can cross into the world of the dead appears by coincidence in these two documents. As Chapter One addresses, the seventeenth century chronicle, the *Kōnodai Senki*, also builds on this idea of the horse being Tsugunobu's mount to the afterlife.[104] This places *Genpei Jōsuiki* account more in context with the mindset of texts in circulation between the late fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than with the texts of the earlier fourteenth century.

The increase in Yoshitsune's role in certain areas of the text also implies a shift in how his character has been perceived, and this may relate in some part to the existence of the *Gikeiki*. *Genpei Jōsuiki* alone includes the idea that Yoshitsune may have had a sexual relationship with the former Imperial Consort, Kenreimon'in, following her capture.[105] The idea of Yoshitsune and his men ravishing Taira women following the battle of Dannoura evolved beyond this into a popular scandal tale in the Edo period, often with salacious and explicit details.[106]

The sexual exploits of Kenreimon'in must be examined in this discussion, because the approach of *Genpei Jōsuiki* towards her behaviour stands in contrast to most other versions. Although Amy Franks argues that the *Engyōbon* account of Kenreimon'in's captivity describes incest between her and her two brothers, Munemori and Tomomori, it is only *Genpei Jōsuiki* where she is explicitly accused of such sexual misconduct.[107] More, in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, it is only Munemori with whom she commits this indiscretion, allowing the text to claim that her son, Emperor Antoku, was

[101] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:225.
[102] *Gikeiki*, 37:207.
[103] Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume 3*, 510.
[104] Thornton, "Kōnodai Senki," 343–44, 370.
[105] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 160, 192.
[106] Okuda, *Nihonshi no Kyojitsu*, 69.
[107] Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike,'" 251.

actually not an Emperor at all, but the illicit product of an inappropriate alliance.[108] This allegation against Antoku's bloodline does not appear in the *Engyōbon*.

Saeki Shin'ichi has done extensive research on the use and meaning of the Realm of Beasts (*Chikushōdō*) within these texts.[109] As he points out, the association between the Realm of Beasts and incestuous relationships between siblings is hard to orientate to the mediaeval period. Saeki cites examples from dictionaries that date the association to the eighteenth century, and also references the work of Chikamatsu, who included these themes in his plays, but states that this meaning is not found in fourteenth or fifteenth century dictionaries.[110] This much later eighteenth-century date is problematic for studying both the *Engyōbon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* accounts, and Saeki overcomes this by exploring the use of a similar term, *kinjū*, which meant to behave in an animalistic way. According to Saeki, by the sixteenth century, the terms *kinjū* and *chikushō* had become largely interchangeable and indicated a lack of manners or proper behaviour.[111] While this does not directly link incest to the Realm of Beasts, it is possible to see a connection being formed during the late sixteenth century, between behaviour described as animalistic and the breaking down of normal social barriers to commit indecent acts.

In the *Engyōbon* text, Kenreimon'in describes the flight from Kyoto into exile as being like experiencing the Realm of Beasts. Key to her account is the feeling of being pursued and hunted, whilst also becoming the victim of malicious rumours because of her close travel arrangements with her brothers.[112] Although this is commonly assumed to indicate incestuous behaviour, there is no tangible evidence to suggest that is the case. In fact, all of the feelings Kenreimon'in describes are included in Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*, an influential religious text on which many mediaeval perceptions of Pure Land Buddhism and the Realms of Rebirth were founded.[113] Genshin's description references the Realm of Beasts as being in the Great Sea, which also resonates with Kenreimon'in's water-borne flight from Kyoto towards Kyūshū.[114] He directly references animals attacking and pursuing one another as key features of this Realm. Kenreimon'in's sense of feeling trapped and pursued by the enemy can be interpreted in

[108] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 6:65.
[109] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 156–96.
[110] Saeki, 168.
[111] Saeki, 177.
[112] Saeki, 160.
[113] *Ōjōyōshū*, 32.
[114] R Keller, "Preaching the Animal Realm in Late Mediaeval Japan," 182.

this light. The constant rumours and gossip she mentions also fits this interpretation, as this behaviour reflects animals attacking one another. Genshin's analysis also talks about the Realm of Beasts as karmic punishment for evil committed in a former human life.[115] Kenreimon'in's account of passing through the Realm of Beasts appears more to criticise the breakdown in social order and hierarchy in her family following their departure from the capital (depicted here as the centre of cultural and social propriety). Included in these descriptions are hints of inappropriate sexual behaviour, but none of the comparative examples Kenreimon'in gives describe incestuous relationships between siblings. Instead they detail various inappropriate relationships, including a mother and her step-son, a demonic possession and Imperial figures seduced by or seducing commoners.[116] In this discussion, Kenreimon'in dwells on the sinful nature of women and their lustful desires, but she falls short from making any claims of sleeping with either one or both of her brothers during the flight from the capital. As Saeki acknowledges, even rumours of inappropriate behaviour would be shameful for an Imperial consort to endure and would demonstrate her fall from grace.[117] The consort would normally have had separate quarters and would not have travelled so closely with men, even those of her own family. It is equally possible to assume that the vicious criticisms came about because of the inappropriate nature of her accommodation.

The inclusion of Tomomori in the *Engyōbon* discussion also helps to steer suspicion away from the act of incest in this text. Tomomori is a largely celebrated warrior, whose widow lived for many years after the Genpei War. She was instrumental in looking after the second Prince, whose son would go on to become Emperor in the thirteenth century. This is the time period in which the early versions of the *Heike Monogatari* are thought to have evolved, and Tomomori's widow remained politically influential even following his death.[118] It is not impossible that she contributed her memories of the aftermath of war to those who would compose the very earliest version of the *Heike*. While we do not know the exact content of the earliest *Heike Monogatari* text, the *Engyōbon* is thought to be the earliest surviving variant. It is unlikely that Tomomori's widow would have been complicit in encouraging rumours about her husband and her sister-in-law the Imperial consort engaging in such scandalous

[115] Ambros, "Animals in Japanese Buddhism," 251.
[116] Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike,'" 249.
[117] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 160.
[118] Kusaka, *Ikusa monogatari no sekai*, 58.

relationships. While Saeki suggests *Engyōbon* is simply an early account of incestuous behaviour, this seems unlikely.[119] If *Engyōbon* dates to the early fourteenth century, then its assessment of the Realm of Beasts is more likely to be in context with *Ōjōyōshū*'s interpretation.

If *Engyōbon* is not actually talking about incest, we must then return to *Genpei Jōsuiki* and its explicit account. If the *Engyōbon* was being copied in 1408 (as the oldest surviving version indicates), it seems odd that it does not include more direct allegations of incest towards Kenreimon'in and her brothers if *Genpei Jōsuiki* was already in circulation at that time and making those accusations openly. The assumption that both texts evolved in the same rough period may account for this confusion. It seems far more likely that *Genpei Jōsuiki* was, in fact, not in existence at the time the *Engyōbon* was being copied, and that the *Engyōbon*'s vague comments about rumours and female desire formed the basis of the more detailed and cohesive allegations found in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. If Saeki's suggestion about the evolving meaning of *kinjū* and its interchangeable relationship with *chikushō* in the sixteenth century is correct, it is possible that *Genpei Jōsuiki* was instrumental in establishing the Realm of Beasts as symbolising incest, and that this meaning would go on to gain currency during the Edo period, where *Genpei Jōsuiki* was particularly influential. Furthermore, as with the example of Motomori's inclusion, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not consistent in its use of these accusations. The text does not explicitly accuse Kenreimon'in of incest in the Six Realms discussion, nor is it mentioned at the time of Antoku's birth. Instead, it makes the allegation during the parade of Taira captives through the capital, when a leprous monk claims that Antoku is the child of an incestuous affair between the two siblings.[120] Rather than an allegation made during the Taira's flight from the capital, *Genpei Jōsuiki* roots this misconduct far deeper and earlier into the narrative, placing it as an event that occurred before the Taira's political collapse. This implies that the original statement – which relates to rumours during their time together aboard the boat at Yashima – has been added to, further creating the impression that *Genpei Jōsuiki* has built on the unclear rumours recorded in *Engyōbon*, not the other way around.

Unlike *Engyōbon*, *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not try to generalise Kenreimon'in's behaviour with several brothers. Its approach is entirely different, singling out one brother and utilising that shame to construct bigger themes relating to legitimacy. Aside

[119] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 65.
[120] Minobe, "The World View of 'Genpei Jōsuiki,'" 229–30.

from the changing perception of the meaning of the Realm of Beasts, it can be argued that *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s decision to use Munemori alone as the scapegoat helped not only to remove the legitimacy of Antoku as a valid Emperor of Japan, but also to undermine Munemori's right and ability to rule. Just as Motomori is included to draw the start of Taira misconduct back to the 1160s, so Munemori's indiscretions with his sister are pulled back to before the birth of Antoku, further condemning Taira authority as shameful and dissolute. If Nobunaga did connect himself to the Taira family tree, in order to legitimise his right to fight against the dregs of the Ashikaga Minamoto shogunate, then again, the disgrace of Munemori helps to shift all the negative attention of the Taira family away from his ancestor, Sukemori. *Genpei Jōsuiki* further demonstrates its focused hostility towards Munemori in a separate but related scene in which the text claims Munemori was a foundling baby switched at birth with Kiyomori's real baby, an unwanted daughter.[121] These allegations further undermine Munemori's political legitimacy to lead the Taira Clan, explaining their inevitable defeat under his leadership. This is significant, as Nobunaga's use of Taira heritage demonstrates a greater political motivation to undermine Munemori in the sixteenth century than is found in the fourteenth century.

The idea of undermining the authority of a woman by accusing her of incest is something which is not generally seen in the fourteenth century historical accounts or texts. Examples can be found, however, in Edo period works. Although admittedly quite a late example, dating from the first decade of the nineteenth century, the *Tandai Shōshin Roku* dissects the character of Yoritomo's wife, Hōjō Masako, with similarly brutal allegations. This text contains the thoughts and observations of the influential writer, Ueda Akinari (1734-1809), on many points of society, history and literature. Akinari, who dedicated much of his life to intellectual pursuits, describes Masako's behaviour as 'drunken madness' and details her illicit sexual liaisons not only with her husband's former retainers, but also with her brother and even her own younger son, Sanetomo.[122] While none of this can be historically authenticated (the retainer in question died 14 years before the alleged intercourse took place), Akinari accuses Masako of inappropriate behaviour because of her prominent position as a woman in government.[123] Akinari's ire towards powerful women is not just aimed at Masako, as

[121] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 6:32–33.
[122] *Tandai Shōshin Roku*, 89, 154–56.
[123] 154.

he also derides Hideyoshi's consort, Yodogimi, as being the cause of the downfall of Hideyoshi's family due to her lust.[124] This is similar to the allegations surrounding Kenreimon'in, whose alleged incest with her brother lead to a tainted Imperial line. Akinari has an opinion on Antoku too – suggesting that he had been born a girl, and that this was the reason for secretive behaviour surrounding his birth.[125] This assertion is also made in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, demonstrating how the ideas contained within this version of *Heike Monogatari* seeped through into other writings.[126]

Akinari's account is not an isolated one. Motoori Norinaga – an intellectual rival of Akinari's writing a few decades earlier – directly addresses the issue of *chikushō*, defining it as sexual congress between parent and child or siblings. Although Motoori cites Chinese anecdotes to support his case, Saeki suggests that his interpretation may have been forced to fit eighteenth century Edo values, rather than necessarily representing the original story accurately.[127] While *Genpei Jōsuiki* is clearly older than both of these texts, the idea of taking an existing story and reworking it for a different time or political context may explain the damning nature of the allegations against Kenreimon'in. As the evolution of the tale regarding Yoshitsune and Kenreimon'in in the Edo period demonstrates, the ideas in *Genpei Jōsuiki* seem to have provided a springboard for further textual developments. The use of these themes in these later texts also indicates that *Genpei Jōsuiki* and its concepts remained subjects of intellectual discussion throughout the Edo period.

Conclusion: Genpei Jōsuiki, *the Sengoku Moral Tale*

Genpei Jōsuiki inhabited a space between the end of the Warring States Period and the evolution of the Tokugawa period. It straddled the boundaries of literature and history, without needing to define itself as either one or the other. It featured themes that resonate most strongly with the moral compass of the Unification period, such as loyalty to one's lord and fighting for the common good over individual ambition. It was politically relevant to the supporters of both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, and while it is not clear whether it had any connection to Nobunaga, the 1556 projected date, coupled with the depiction of Taira no Sukemori, suggests this was a possibility. While undoubtedly

[124] 151.
[125] 88.
[126] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 2:116.
[127] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 168.

constructed with reference to earlier historical material, both in the form of War Tale variants and diary and court records, the evolution of the text we know today suggests a relatively late production date. The lack of records prior to 1575, and the inclusion of Motomori in a pivotal textual role, make it difficult to claim that *Genpei Jōsuiki* was constructed in the fourteenth century. Whether parts of it existed as one of many variants of *Heike Monogatari* before this point is currently impossible to prove, but a conscious attempt was made in the sixteenth century to identify it with a different title from the other *Heike* variant texts. *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a complete entity came into being in the late sixteenth century with the attribution of its title, and we should, therefore, consider it a construct of this time. It is also important to recognise its continued position of influence throughout the Tokugawa and early modern periods, as highlighted by its citation in works such as that of Ueda Akinari. Further attention needs to be given to the textual content of this *Heike* variant with regards to its role in these eras, in order to better understand the mindset of the people who wrote it, read it, or were motivated or influenced by its choice of narrative. By opening the discussion on *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s origins in this manner, however, I argue that it is possible to understand the significance of this text as a political tool of legitimacy and history in the concluding stages of the turbulent Warring States period and the early years of the Tokugawa shogunate. By presenting the stories of the twelfth century in this way, the text helped to justify the military governments of the sixteenth and seventeenth through the powerful use of precedent. The detailed textual analyses of the following chapter case studies will help to elucidate how these themes are explored and presented within the text, offering insight into interpreting *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s narrative.

Why horses? Japan and the symbolic equine.

In order to properly investigate the themes of a long and complex text like *Genpei Jōsuiki*, a navigational tool is necessary. As has already been suggested, horses play a significant role in this text, and are used more prominently than in other texts from the *Heike* corpus. To understand why horses are a valid symbol through which to analyse *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the discussion must begin with an assessment of the role of horses in Japan as a whole.

References to horses in Japan can be found in very early mythology. As Pflugfelder states, in Japan, conceptualising animals as biological entities is relatively modern and brought about by Western influence during the nineteenth century.[128] Horses were traditionally included in a hierarchy of real and unreal entities that made up the spiritual framework of society, which may explain their frequently symbolic role within the War Tales. One significant early tale depicts Susano'o, the rebellious brother of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, releasing horses into the harvest to eat the rice crops.[129] Susano'o's indiscretions with the horse do not end there, however, for another tale details him "whipping a piebald horse and throwing it into the sacred hall", startling his sister and sending her into seclusion.[130] For Robert Van Gulik, this account is a metaphor for Susano'o's incestuous rape of his sister.[131] Even in the mythical stories of the gods, the appearance of the horse and its association both with powerful entities and transgressive activity is clear, and the connection is further strengthened by eighth century depictions of the god Tsukuyomi – both riding a horse, and also slaying the food goddess, from whose head came forth horses and cattle.[132] It was not just transgression that the horse was linked to in these tales, but also the line between life and death. As Barbara Ambros has pointed out, religious reference to animals in Buddhist thought often involved them being used in a comparative sense to the actions of humans, and the idea of being reborn in the animal realm was to suggest a loss of humanity.[133] This drop in status was also a drop in morality and thus a form of hell. At

[128] Pflugfelder, "Preface," xii.
[129] Kenrick, *Horses in Japan*, 3.
[130] Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, 76–77.
[131] Gulik, 76–77.
[132] Kenrick, *Horses in Japan*, 3; Como, "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan," 408.
[133] Ambros, "Animals in Japanese Buddhism," 252.

the same time, animals were often imbued with divine or otherworldly powers not possessed by human beings. This gave them a sense of otherness, simultaneously present alongside their close connection to humanity.[134] Animals, particularly horses and oxen, appeared in imagery depicting Hell. These depictions included horse-headed demons punishing the wicked souls of humans who had transgressed and fallen to one of the hell realms.[135] The correlation between aberrant behaviour and the symbolic image of the horse can clearly be found in these ideas.

Horses are often associated with the warrior, but their role in Japanese culture has always been more wide-ranging. Michael Como has discussed the relationship between the court and the horse, particularly its symbolic role within the Imperial House. The legend of Prince Shōtoku, a figure closely entwined with the early consolidation of the Yamato Imperial court, is littered with horse references. Shōtoku was reputedly born at a stable door, prompting his childhood name of Umayado.[136] An early Heian source also talks about his beloved horse, which had the ability to fly and for which Shōtoku built a grand temple.[137] During the Nara period, the horse played a significant part in the status of the Emperor, but it was also a cultic symbol, used as a sacrifice in rainmaking ceremonies or to prevent ill fortune.[138] Here, again, the horse played a liminal role between different positions and states of being, including life and death. In being sacrificed, the horse was thought to summon the rain, feeding the crops and bringing life to the people. This ideology almost reverses the example referred to above, with Susano'o's horses eating the crops, creating a karmic circle of rebirth and death between the horse and the produce of the land. Specific equine offerings could be made to either bring rain (to end a drought), in which case a black horse would be more likely, or to end rain (to prevent a flood), in which case the preferred animal would be white.[139] White horses are also associated with the goddess of Mercy, Kannon. As Makino Atsushi points out, this connection is also referenced in War Tales, such as in the *Engyōbon Heike*, where Kannon's ability to transform into a white horse to save people is mentioned.[140]

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[134] Ambros, 253.
[135] Ambros, 254.
[136] Como, "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan," 405.
[137] Como, 408.
[138] Como, 398.
[139] Reader, "The Form and Meaning of Ema," 26.
[140] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 184.

Horses were seen both as saviours and dangerous, destructive entities. Deities such as Mutō Tenjin, a protective figure against disease, were depicted from the Nara period riding horses as they vanquished the enemies of the populace who brought plague, the *ekijin*.[141] These were demonic spirits thought to come from outside, but in reality, the distinction between the sinister mounted figure and the protective one was very slender. Mutō Tenjin himself also had connections to Korea, making him as 'foreign' as the enemy he was supposed to hunt. This wider sense of geography had major implications on society. The horse offered the possibility for men to travel further, conquer land and win battles, but also meant that diseases could spread over further distances, and invasion of territory was more likely.[142] This ambivalent role the horse played in the establishment of Japan's early history – including conflicts with mounted warriors from Korea - probably allowed some of the later stories to evolve. Certainly, as Como notes, the growth and spread of stories and legends of what he calls 'deadly horse-riding spirits' during the Nara and early Heian period fed into the popular consciousness, informing the view that horses were not just physical creatures, but associated with mystical, divine, and even sinister entities.[143]

The Japanese traditional offering of wooden votive tablets (known as *ema*), still found today at many shrines and even Buddhist temples, help to convey this idea of the spiritual significance of the horse. The word *ema* is written orthographically with the characters for 'image' and 'horse' (絵馬). While originally horse offerings were made directly, the cost and logistical difficulty of both providing and stabling these animals led to proxy offerings being made, and by the tenth or eleventh century, these had become more mainstream. As Ian Reader points out, examples of *ema* tablets from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been found with words inscribed on the back, indicating that these were seen as proxy offerings representing real sacred horses.[144] The idea of a horse as a conduit between the mundane and the divine is also echoed in their usage as symbolic messengers to the gods. They feature as a connective between the worlds of the living and the dead, such as in the O-bon festival, where horses are thought to bring the souls of the deceased to this world, and then return them to their

[141] Como, "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan," 407.
[142] Como, 401.
[143] Como, 396.
[144] Reader, "The Form and Meaning of Ema," 28. Examples of sixteenth century Muromachi ema were on display at the Kyoto Museum exhibition on the Sengoku Period between February and April 2017.

own.[145] Although most of these votive offerings today no longer feature an image of a horse, exceptions do exist, such as at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura.

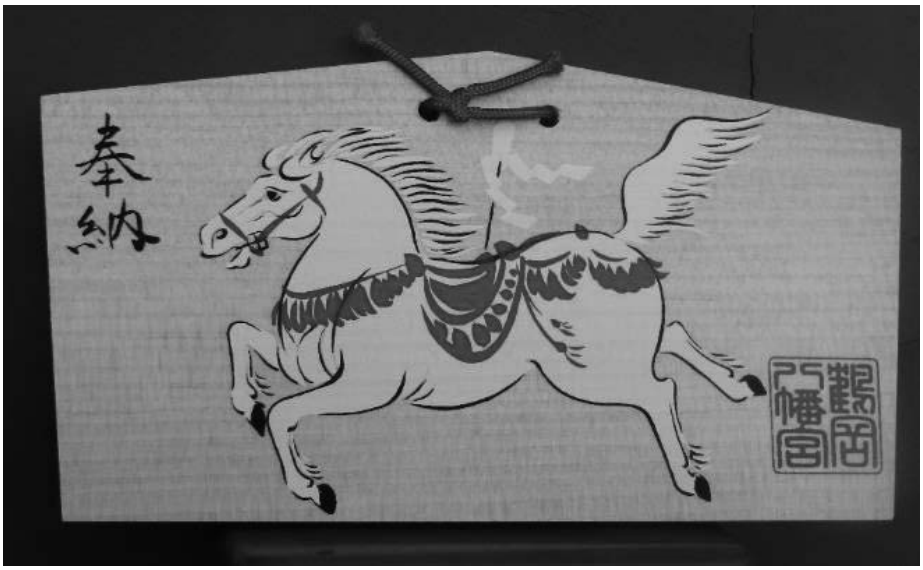

Fig 2: Modern day votive offering featuring a white horse at Tsurugaoka Hachimangu, Kamakura.[146]

This shrine, associated with the victorious first Shogun of Japan, Minamoto no Yoritomo, is also dedicated to the deity Hachiman; traditionally connected to the warrior through his alleged links to Yoritomo's ancestor. While the ancient association with the horse connects it to the divine, residual imagery, such as that at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, demonstrates a stronger modern connection with the horse and warrior imagery at shrines, most particularly those dedicated to Hachiman. Many shrines also have white statues, representing the *shinba* (also *shinme*), sacred horse offerings that were made to these organisations in the past. Perhaps the most ironic example is that which appears at the Takakura Shrine in Kizugawa, where Prince Mochihito is said to be buried. Mochihito, whose downfall was allegedly precipitated by a dispute over a horse, is now watched over by the solemn white figure of the shrine's *shinba* statue.

[145] Reader, 29.
[146] Photo E.A Woolley, taken with permission from the shrine.

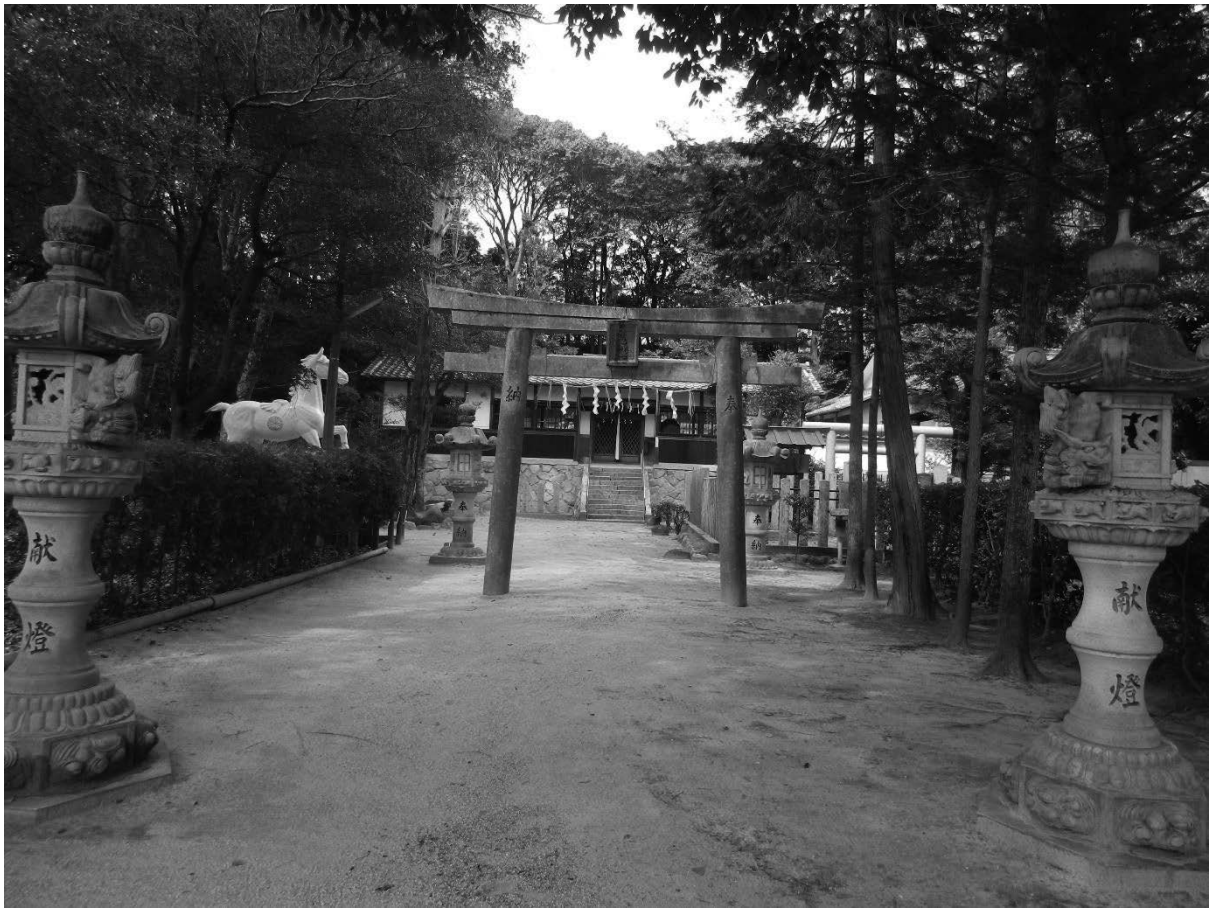

Fig 3: The Takakura Shrine in Kizugawa, with the grave of Prince Mochihito on the right (marked by the white torii) and the statue of the shrine's shinba on the left.[147]

As Makino discusses, the spiritual relationship between horses and water is also a deep-rooted one connecting to both Buddhist and Shintō belief systems, either in the form of the fiery horse at war with the water, or the concept of dragon horses and the wild *shinba*, or sacred steeds, whose origins can be found in the deep.[148] Stories in the *Heike Monogatari*, such as the *Engyōbon*'s description of the prized horse Ikezuki's past, also connect horses to water in a direct way, and scenes featuring river crossings are prominent in the texts. These spiritual connections demonstrate that it is important not to confine our understanding of the horse's role in Japanese literature to simply being a physical animal tied to this plane and without any deeper implications. It is necessary to examine its representational merit on a broader scale. This includes its involvement with both warrior and Emperor, but also the spiritual and religious use as a connection between this world and others. This connective status helps us to understand the

[147] Picture E.A Woolley, taken 25th March 2017
[148] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi."

possibility of a textual horse being symbolic of more than just its physical actions – connecting the reader to other ideas embedded in the text.

Hoyt Long, in his essay on deer representation within Japanese culture, emphasises the importance of looking beyond the real-world entity to the 'symbolic animals' that lurk beneath. He states,

> Visual or textual representations of nonhuman animals should never be mistaken for transparent and unmediated depictions of the animal itself. Rather, they must be seen as standing apart from their real-world counterparts as symbolic animals rooted in complex social and historical contexts – symbolic animals who evolve and transform within a network of interacting cultural and ideological forces.[149]

Long echoes the distinction between the flesh and blood animal and their symbolic presence when interpreting their role within a Japanese text. Long's argument distinguishes these two concepts, indicating that the metaphorical animal may not be their literal action or behaviour, but something intrinsic and transformative within the story. Steve Baker echoes Long's hypothesis, claiming that the 'representational, symbolic and rhetorical uses of the animal must be understood to carry as much conceptual weight as any idea we may have of the 'real' animal, and must be taken just as seriously.'[150] Richard Tapper compares the ways in which animals can be used within textual study, stating that 'animals, or rather cultural constructions of them, are used as metaphors for moralizing and socialising purposes in two rather different, even contradictory ways.'[151] These statements support Long's assertion that the animal in text should be viewed as multi-dimensional in its meaning and the messages its inclusion conveys.

Long also addresses the matter of animals as connectives. Whilst focusing on the deer, he states that they can be seen as mediators between the human world and that of the gods.[152] I argue that a similar relationship can be seen with the horse, albeit within different parameters. Unlike the deer, the horse is not used as a speaking medium to convey a message or a moral lesson. Instead, the presence of a horse acts to transform individuals or scenes from one state of being or space to another.

[149] Long, "Grateful Animal or Spiritual Being?," 25.
[150] Baker, *Picturing the Beast*, 10.
[151] Tapper, "Animality, Humanity, Morality, Society," 51.
[152] Long, "Grateful Animal or Spiritual Being?," 40.

Although the horse cannot be defined as just a piece of battlefield weaponry, the strong connection that grew and evolved through the centuries between the warrior and the horse continued in more modern representations of equine ceremony. This was not limited to physical monuments. During the Japanese war effort of the nineteen-forties, establishments such as Ueno Zoo, in Tokyo, encouraged visitors to identify themselves with the animals they saw, in particular, drawing symbolic correlations between the young male and the untamed and undisciplined but still courageous war horse.[153] Although the age of the mounted Japanese warrior of the mediaeval tradition had long since disappeared into history, the residual importance of the horse as a symbolic entity and its connection to conflict and martial spirit remained. Memorial services for dead service animals persisted in Japan following the Pacific War (1937-45), and were often held in the Spring, when the cherry blossoms were on the trees. This association between the cherry blossom, traditionally symbolic of fleeting life, and the loss of animals in war, implies that even in the twentieth century, horses (and indeed, other war animals) were not seen as objects, but as warriors in their own right, making their own sacrifices for the land. This depiction of animals as individuals and active participants in events fits well with the manner in which they are often presented in the War Tale texts.

Japanese War Tales invoke a special kind of relationship between warrior and mount. As will be seen by the analysis of *Mutsu Waki* in Chapter One, these texts frequently talk of men *and* horses as a composite entity. Horses are also the key focus of individual scenes and popular stories, such as the famous race across the River Uji between the Minamoto retainers, Kajiwara Kagesue and Sasaki Takatsuna. The historical relationship between the horse and the warrior in Japanese culture has been examined in detail by Thomas Conlan, Kawai Yasushi and Karl Friday. Using fourteenth century documents, Conlan highlights the influence of horses on the Japanese style of warfare. Giving statistics for the accuracy of each weapon, Conlan outlines how arrows were preferred to swords on horseback, despite not being as effective weapons. Swords, which startled horses, were not so frequently used in mounted battle.[154] Conlan also shows how horses were a priority, giving examples of

[153] Miller and Ritvo, *The Nature of the Beasts*, 98.
[154] Conlan, *State of War*, 60. Karl Friday also discusses this.Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, 131.

warriors abandoning allies in battle in order to prevent their horse getting hurt.[155] Horse casualties were noted in petitions for compensation, sometimes in more detail than human ones.[156] Kawai echoes this view, claiming that horse theft was a common practice that, on the battlefield at least, was almost an expected event.[157] Although mediaeval Japanese horses were small in stature, they are often referred to in exaggerated terms within War Tale accounts, helping to aggrandise their importance in the fates of those involved in the story.[158] Friday remarks that, in spite of the animals having poor endurance, warriors continued to use horses in battle and forces were often counted by horsemen alone.[159] This assertion is supported by the War Tales themselves, where such horses are credited with the unlikely feat of crossing large swathes of Japanese land in the space of a day.[160] Keeping in mind this strong, symbolic role of the equine in Japan's past, I will explore the way in which horses are utilised in a representational context, often conveying themes beyond their explicit role in the text. This will allow a broader understanding of *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a whole, and the intentions of the compilers in producing it.

[155] Conlan, *State of War*, 68.
[156] Conlan, 38, 67.
[157] Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 50.
[158] Kawai, 46–48.
[159] Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, 96. Friday cites an experiment done in the 1990s by NHK into the endurance of a traditional Japanese horse.
[160] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:38–39.

Methodology: Centre, Periphery and intertextual analysis.

Although largely neglected by wider scholarship, especially outside of Japan, *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s additional length and content offers more material with which to build an understanding of the textual mechanisms in play. Unlike the *Kakuichibon* performance text, which focuses extensively on artistic language to smoothly connect scenes within a body of text that requires memorising, *Genpei Jōsuiki* often prioritises explaining how circumstances came about, offering insight not just into what happened, but *why*. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s extensive inclusion of other material to support its stories also offer clues as to the writer's intentions and the overall message of the text. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s thoroughness in compiling evidence to support the stories it tells has led Matsuo to term it an 'unofficial history', rather than a literary masterpiece.[161] Although in many cases its historical accuracy can be found lacking, there are also examples where it contains more specific detail than other variants, suggesting that a wide range of source material was indeed utilised (or manipulated) into the document to give it a stronger sense of authenticity. Matsuo refers to this as an all-encompassing *sakuhin sekai* 作品世界– a 'world of the text' within which all events become a form of pseudo-history.

Historical inaccuracies make it difficult to judge *Genpei Jōsuiki* in context with the period it describes. Instead, the context in which *Genpei Jōsuiki* was circulated, and the intentions of the writer – which often supersede historical accuracy – is of particular interest to this study, as are the intentions and content of other related texts. While intertextuality has many potential interpretations, for the purpose of this thesis, I will be analysing how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents its information with reference to other variant texts in the *Heike* corpus. This exercise not only highlights the differences between this text and its brethren, but also how those differences may reflect the aim of the text and the context in which it is being circulated. As has already been argued, *Genpei Jōsuiki* was most likely a text of the late sixteenth century, while other texts in the corpus have been firmly dated to the fourteenth. Comparative analysis between these variants thus offer an opportunity to evaluate how the same basic stories were reinterpreted and represented in different political contexts, and with diverse overall aims. Where relevant, I will also draw on comparative material from other mediaeval texts, including

[161] Matsuo, *Heike monogatari ronkyū*, 119.

other War Tales. My study will involve close textual analysis of language, both in terms of structure, and meaning, including, where relevant, specific usage of *kanji*.

It is clear from the discussion thus far that the role of the horse within the text must be considered with particular care, and with reference to other forms of literary representation, specifically as regards animals or textual objects that carry a dualistic role. While I have already cited anthropological perspectives on animal representation from scholars such as Tapper and Baker, it is also important to examine the literary precedents which may be of use to my work.

While War Tales are a specifically Japanese concept, the *Heike* corpus texts (predominantly the *Kakuichibon* version) have been compared to epics including Homer's *Iliad*, and *Beowulf*.[162] Although there is a clear difference between these 'Western' epics and the Japanese texts, there are aspects within their construction which can be compared.[163] One relevant study that relates to scene construction is David Rubin's work on the *Iliad*. Rubin discusses the recurring theme of a defeated warrior having his armour taken at the end of a battle by the victor. This is an event that appears so often Rubin defines it as a pattern, leading him to problematise scenes that do not fit the pattern as anomalous. One such example Rubin cites involves the warrior, Patroklos, whose armour is removed mid-battle by the deity Zeus. He is consequently defeated, although his opponent, Hektor, then claims to have stripped the armour himself.[164] Because this format lies outside Rubin's interpretative pattern, he considers it to be an exception, as the focus of his study is on the ritual action of removing the armour of the defeated warrior, rather than the significance of the item itself. If the armour itself was to be the subject of Rubin's analysis, it might be considered the catalytic mechanism operating symbolically to convey power and momentum between the individuals in the conflict. When viewed this way, Rubin's cited instances become consistent, as all suggest that removal of the armour is connected to defeat. Armour in the *Iliad* appears to foreshadow or confirm the fall of an individual, irrespective of whether that

[162] Two scholars that parallel the styles of these kinds of texts are Yamagata and Butler. Helen McCullough also comments on the association with the epic in her appendix to her translation of Heike Monogatari, although she warns that it is not always easy to apply Western terminology to Asian texts. Yamagata, "Young and Old in Homer and in 'Heike Monogatari'"; Butler, "The Textual Evolution of The Heike Monogatari"; McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 473–75.
[163] A symposium about the *Heike Monogatari*, held at Diderot University in Paris, in October 2017 debated this point quite intensely.
[164] Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions*, 219.

individual is defeated because of divine intervention or human skill. Hektor's subsequent claim that he removed the armour can be read as his announcement of victory over Patroklos – a statement more about his rise in position and power as a result of the battle than the literal taking of the armour. I argue that, in a similar way, the horse can be seen as a catalyst for such changes of status within the War Tales, and that its ownership and its fate is closely linked to that of its rider or owner, both within the field of battle, and without.

Rubin's study addresses an object, rather than a living creature, but my interpretation of his evidence does not preclude the possibility that these ideas could be applied to an animal such as the horse. Particularly key to this aspect of my study is the work of Adrien Bonjour, who analyses the symbolism of 'beasts of battle' within Anglo-Saxon texts. Bonjour's study also strengthens the idea that symbolic 'objects' do not have to be inanimate, and that they can be animal in origin.[165] Bonjour posits that the appearance of ravens and wolves immediately before the Battle of Malden conveys to the audience a sense of the death and destruction that is to come.[166] For Bonjour, these are themes of which the characters in the text remain unaware. This indicates that, while the active role of the animals in the scene is to wait for the battle to end in order to eat the corpses of the slain, their implicit or *sub*-textual role is to tell the audience that the battle will be bloody and that many soldiers will die. Bonjour concludes that the frequency of this trope within Anglo-Saxon poetry underpins the more abstract reference to the beasts of battle in *Beowulf*, where, he argues, they are deployed to signify,

> …not only the death of warriors but…the bondage and death of a glorious people…here, indeed, the beasts of battle are briefly turned into a symbol of the ultimate triumph of death, the common destiny of dynasties, and the final fate of man.[167]

Bonjour's thought process has merit when considering the *Heike* corpus, for, as Kawai observes, the texts utilise foreshadowing throughout to express the inevitability of the Taira demise (even when contemporary sources indicate that the eventual outcome was far from certain at the start of the conflict).[168] It is my intention to take this idea one step further, incorporating the horse as a symbolic object that, by operating to represent a

[165] Adrien Bonjour, "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle," *PMLA* 72, no. 4 (1957): 563–73.
[166] Bonjour, 567.
[167] Bonjour, 569.
[168] Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 5.

particular theme or idea, influences transitions as well as premeditating them. Overall, the use of the animal in this vein is as a mode of communication to the reader, offering clues as to the ultimate outcome of the tale.

The fine line between central and peripheral entities – often seen as the 'normative' versus the 'other' - is also relevant to a study of the Genpei War, which is traditionally depicted in the War Tales as a struggle for control of central power by two powerful military forces. This symbolism is particularly emulated in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, which, as Selinger points out, appears to construct two separate timelines running concurrently with each other – that of the events in the east, and those in the capital and subsequently, the west.[169]

Research conducted on the mid-Heian period by Ivo Smits and Edward Kamens, has shown that binary interpretations of central and peripheral entities in pre-modern Japan is impractical. Even within the capital itself – traditionally viewed as the centre – there were multiple peripheries. Women, as Kamens addresses, often played out a game of pretending not to understand Chinese language.[170] Chinese study was officially considered the province of men and government, but in reality, women both understood and used Chinese references in their writings and their everyday life. While women were considered peripheral to political affairs, their understanding and engagement with the language of office allowed them a more integrated connection with those at the heart of power. Even evoking ideas of a central and peripheral relationship between Chinese ideas and Japanese ones can be challenged, as increasingly throughout the Heian period, Chinese ideas and language became used more for poetic convenience within an increasingly Japanese-centric cultural sphere.[171] Both these observations have relevance for *Genpei Jōsuiki*, which often cites Chinese tales, but only to reinforce the moral message already made through describing the actions of Japanese individuals. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the Japanese narrative is central, whereas the Chinese narratives play a supporting and peripheral role informing the wider text. Despite China's dominant position in East Asia, and Japan's intermittent interest in Confucianism, the use of Chinese history and ideology in Japanese culture became increasingly dictated by Japanese ideas and expectations, both in society and in written text.

[169] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 30.
[170] Kamens, "Terrains of Text in Mid-Heian Court Culture," 130–31.
[171] Smits, "The Way of the Literati."

Complex interactions impacted on language, gender and even social class, showing that, as Adolphson and Kamens assert, even within the heart of the Heian capital, a plethora of centres and peripheries interacted with each other.[172] As Charlotte von Verschuer has shown, provinces like Owari, whose officials issued a petition against their governor in 988, demonstrated an understanding of court protocol and structure while being located away from the capital itself.[173] While this analysis is useful in determining the complexities of central-peripheral relationships, however, it also reinforces the capital and court customs as central entities, interacted with or supported by those in a peripheral social or geographical position. Men are supported by women, the court is supported by the provinces, and the elites are supported by those who work for them, within an accepted social framework dictated by court values. Even the Owari petition, which was written by educated officials, also reinforces the region's overall subordination to the capital, through use of a process acceptable to central government.[174] And yet, as von Verschuer's analysis suggests, the petition still lacked the polish of a court document.[175] Owari was a community both geographically peripheral to Heian-Kyō, but far closer to the capital (and thus more central) than distant provinces to the north and south.

Alexander Bay's historical study of the society of Kita Ōu, one such location in the far north of the Japanese mainland, demonstrates how the concept of 'centre' should not be assumed to be synonymous with the capital.[176] The people of Kita Ōu constructed their own concept of 'centre', drawing on local and national customs. To the residents of Heian-Kyō, these northerners would have been seen as distant and marginal, but to the people of Kita Ōu, the peripheral race were the Wataritō of Hokkaidō.[177] The understanding in Kita Ōu of what constituted the 'centre', and by association, the 'periphery' was also synonymous with the use and possession of equines; the Wataritō's different use of horses was cited as a reason for the distinction between the two peoples. Bay's study indicates both the fluidity of the concepts of 'central' and 'peripheral' status, and the significant part played by the horse in their definition. These fluidities are also apparent around the time of the Genpei War, the era

[172] Smits, 118–22; Kamens and Adolphson, "Between and Beyond Centers and Peripheries," 2–3.
[173] von Verschuer, "Life of Commoners in the Provinces."
[174] von Verschuer, 322.
[175] von Verschuer, 321.
[176] Bay, "The Swift Horses of Nukanobu," 97–100.
[177] Bay, 97–100.

which *Genpei Jōsuiki* purports to describe. David Bialock's research on this era discusses how nomadic individuals or peripheral groups had a different form of hierarchy not understood by the mainstream court.[178] This lack of understanding made them not only remote from political power, but also objects of fear. Bialock thus identifies a traditional court 'centre', which feared the 'periphery', and a changing 'periphery', whose growing power allowed them to increasingly encroach on and appropriate the 'centre'.[179]

This sense of blurred boundaries, or 'reflexivity'[180] in which the centre is encroached upon by the periphery, has resonance for my study, as characters in *Genpei Jōsuiki* often travel often from one geographical region to another. The segregation of timelines, mentioned above, also shows how the east and west were developing their own central and peripheral relationships with each other and with the court. These relationships change as the eastern warriors encroach further into the capital, and the Taira withdraw to the western seas.

The work done by Bay, Kamens, Smits, Adolphson and von Verschuer confirms that what can be viewed as central or peripheral is not limited to a political hierarchy, but can inform literature, geography, and gender relationships as well. Viewed in a localised and microcosmic light, one can see a place, a person, or even an action as a centre, providing that there is an equal and opposite entity to form a viable periphery. Centre and periphery were clearly not concrete elements in pre-modern Japan. This is especially true following the establishment of the first shogunate, when Japanese government offices were divided between those controlled by the military (nominally in Kamakura) and those by the court (remaining in Kyoto). Subsequent military governments also maintained this plurality of control between two ruling bodies.

Ideas of centre and periphery also intersect with the representation of horses, not least because a horse is a creature capable of physically travelling from one place to another. This is supported by the work of von Verschuer, who notes that horses were transmitted in large numbers between the court and the provinces in the tenth century. Von Verschuer describes how, in the Owari petition, the provincial officials complained about abuse of horses at travel stations by the appointed Governor, Motonaga. Horses

[178] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 132.
[179] Bialock, 198–99.
[180] Lewis, "Center and Periphery in Japanese Historical Studies," 425.

are described as being made to bleed, as well as being whipped, in what appears a way of showing contempt for those working at the station.[181] Similar levels of derision towards those considered beneath the authority of a Provincial Governor is reflected in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* account of a horse in temple hot springs. This incident escalates into a much bigger concern and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter One. Horses thus play an active role in defining and reinforcing relationships between central and peripheral authorities.

Like those described by von Verschuer, most horses that appear in *Genpei Jōsuiki* originate from provincial locations, but not all end up in court hands. Many are owned by warriors fighting in and around the capital. Several of these horses, as will be discussed in later chapters, also reflect themes of legitimisation through a change of name or ownership, or an association with an individual in power. This fits with Adolphson and Kamens' assertion that relationships of centre and periphery are complex, and that the spaces connecting these two concepts is of equal interest.

In a War Tale context, where the focal point is as frequently on the depiction of the warrior as it reflects the actions of court or populace, warriors are often a central, rather than a supporting entity in the narrative. Rather than ascribing a firm central or peripheral status to physical locations based on geographical origins or class distinction, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses the concept of legitimacy and the text's own overriding message to determine when a figure is central or peripheral to an event. This also determines how their behaviour is explained or justified. As already stated, horses, with their physical prowess, can (and did) physically cross these spaces, connecting geographical centres and peripheries. It does not seem far-fetched to suggest they also help traverse moral centres and peripheries as well.

While Selinger cites examples from *Konjaku Monogatari* in which the actions of the thief and the warrior appear broadly similar, placing both on the 'periphery', we must not forget that, although the mounted deities and the *ekijin* had similar origins, the way in which they were viewed by the populace meant that they were *not* the same. Belief in the good/legitimacy of one and the bad/illegitimacy of the other transformed similar entities into central and peripheral figures. A good example of this can be found in the analysis of Kenreimon'in's moral conduct, addressed earlier in this thesis. While

[181] von Verschuer, "Life of Commoners in the Provinces," 308–9.

in the heart of central power and authority in Kyoto, Kenreimon'in's morality is not questioned by the text. There is no mention of an incestuous relationship with her brother until long after she has been stripped of her imperial position and is confined to prayer in the Ohara temple, so detached from central affairs that even her father-in-law, Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa can no longer recognise her when he visits.[182] Kenreimon'in's fall from the centre as imperial consort to the periphery as the mother of a tainted Emperor demonstrates how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents the same character in two distinct ways. By using ideas of both moral and geographical centrality and peripherality, the text reflects the changing flow of political legitimacy.

This inconsistency in how accounts are presented also applies to military conflicts and their records. David Spafford's work on late fifteenth century conflict in the Nitta territories demonstrates that in the same record, accounts of betrayal can be presented differently depending on who is being described.[183] A warrior pursuing a thief and a thief killing a warrior can establish a central and peripheral relationship, in which a warrior becomes central and a thief, peripheral. It is just as possible, however, for the warrior to steal from a battlefield enemy and become a thief, and for a thief to steal a horse and armour and become a warrior, blurring these distinctions once again.

Ultimately, it is not the actions or the formal status of the individual that makes them central or peripheral, but how they are viewed or presented, and, in some cases, also their rationale. Ideas of transgressive and commendable behaviour also become dependent on how the individual being described is viewed by the text's author in context with his or her actions, not necessarily as regards the deed itself. Just as the mounted deity could be a demonic spirit bringing disease, a heroic warrior can also quickly become a thief. These ideas of changing status are themes I intend to explore further in this thesis. Rather than focusing on the court as the centre by default, my analysis will explore how praised characters are presented as legitimate and thus central, even when they commit acts of apparent 'misconduct', and how criticised characters are undermined and thus peripheral, even when they are not morally at fault. In conducting this analysis, I will also explore to what extent the horse plays a role in these depictions – and, at times, how it aids the transition from centre to periphery, or vice versa. By acknowledging that such depictions are not always consistent between scene, rank or

[182] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 6:206–8.
[183] Spafford, "An Apology of Betrayal."

character, this study will demonstrate how *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises horses and scene construction to create its own distinct version of the events of the Genpei War.

Using this methodology as a basis, this thesis conducts close textual analysis of select sections of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. Chapter One explores the different themes of *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the ideas contained in War Tales in general and the relevance of the horse in connecting these ideas. Based on the key themes identified in Chapter One, Chapters Two, Three and Four will evaluate in detail scenes from *Genpei Jōsuiki* that best illustrate these ideas, with each case study centred on a major political event. Chapter Two focuses on the dangers of personal ambition, through a dispute over a horse. Chapter Three identifies the warrior hierarchy and how equine ownership helps to inform legitimacy and status. Chapter Four examines personal responsibility, and how the subtle inclusion or removal of a horse can have greater implications for the text's overall meaning. In the context of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, from which period the earliest surviving manuscripts of *Genpei Jōsuiki* survive, I argue that the text's inclusion of these themes, and its circulation among warrior government officials, helped to underpin the reconstruction of a united polity following the disruption of the Warring States Period.

Chapter One: Horses and Misconduct as Themes of Representation in *Genpei Jōsuiki*

Introduction

Thus far this thesis has argued that *Genpei Jōsuiki* is a text of the sixteenth century, rather than the fourteenth, and that this production timeline has influenced the core themes and messages which the next four chapters will now explore in more detail. As the introductory sections have demonstrated, the symbolic resonance in Japanese tradition of the horse also makes it an adequate tool through which to navigate these complex case studies. I will now turn more specifically to the relationship between animal and text to explore how equine representation can be used as a tool to understand the overall messages of the *Heike* corpus – and, in particular, *Genpei Jōsuiki* itself.

Horses appear extensively in all *Heike* corpus variants, but it is notable that *Genpei Jōsuiki* has a greater equine presence than other variants. Fig 4 demonstrates the disparity just between named horses in *Genpei Jōsuiki* and other variants through reference to two scenes that appear in most versions: the story of Konoshita details the alleged trigger for the start of the Genpei War, while the tale of Ikezuki and Surusumi prefaces one of the famous dramatic scenes of warrior competition - the race between two Minamoto retainers to cross River Uji and be first to enter battle.

Text	Konoshita/Kiō Scene	Ikezuki and Surusumi Scene
Kakuichibon	2	2
Engyōbon	2	2
Nagatobon	2	2
Amakusabon	2	2
Genpei Jōsuiki	4	19

Fig 4: Table of equine occurrences between Heike variant texts in two well-known stories.

These scenes will be discussed and analysed in depth in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, but they are not isolated examples.

While many equine encounters centre around battle scenes, others take place away from the heart of the action, demonstrating that the horse is more than just a

symbol of battlefield power and identity. Some stories, such as that relating to Ikezuki and Surusumi, depict transfers of horse ownership between lord and retainer. Others, such as the tale of Konoshita, use horses in a more sinister manner, demonstrating how the lack of control over a horse can lead to the downfall of its master. *Genpei Jōsuiki* also includes more named horses and their backstories than the other variant texts. This attention to detail on them as characters helps the reader to see horses more as retainers or warriors in battle alongside their masters, rather than just tools of the trade.

Vyjayanthi Selinger is one of the few scholars who has addressed the issue of the horse as a representational construct. She has proposed that the horse is 'the central motif in imagination of the *Heike* texts, through which historical notions about the age of the warrior and social ideas about warrior conduct are constructed.'[184] Selinger's analysis of the symbolic horse is a valuable contribution to this limited field, although the bulk of her work compares scenes from within War Tale texts to other sources outside the genre. This thesis aims to do the opposite, drawing predominately on War Tale texts to reinforce the idea of the horse as a symbolic and representational construct. Rather than seeing the horse as symbolic of sporting prowess or as the confinement of warrior energy in the manner of Selinger, I examine the various ways equine representation is utilised in the Japanese War Tale as a structural device within the narrative. By centring my analysis on *Genpei Jōsuiki*, this work will add to scholarly knowledge on a less well-studied text, highlighting its distinct characteristics and suggesting reasons for these differences. Genpei Jōsuiki's extensive use of horses helps to communicate the compiler(s)'s ideas to the reader, creating wider political and thematic implications for our understanding of the text. This chapter focuses on the establishment of the equine motif within the War Tales, and then explores the manner of its application within the *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

[184] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 141.

Section I: Horses in the Japanese War Tales

The definition of what comprises a War Tale (in Japanese, *gunki monogatari*) can sometimes be unclear. Texts such as the *Mutsu Waki*, which will be analysed in detail in this section, have been dismissed from the genre by eminent scholars such as Helen McCullough, because they are written in *kanbun*[185] rather than in Japanese.[186] Other War Tale texts, including *Genpei Jōsuiki*, also include passages of *kanbun* text, however, and so it seems unlikely that the language of composition is as relevant to defining the genre as its content.[187] It is possible to compare the details of the story presented within the *Mutsu Waki* with other, later War Tale texts, and to draw similarities between them, as this chapter will demonstrate. For the purpose of my research, I consider the definition of a War Tale to be a text in which the stories of warrior exploits are aggrandised and depicted in detail, often from the perspective of the warrior or the warrior administration. In this context, the role of the horse within these texts influences how the work is constructed and is instrumental in the telling of the story. I will now elaborate on this process in the following case study.

Case Study: Mutsu Waki[188] *(circa 1060s)*

The *Mutsu Waki* is one of the oldest surviving War Tale texts. It recounts the events of the rather inaccurately named Former Nine Years War (1051-1062).[189] The war was fought between the northern Abe family and their allies, led by Yoritoki and his son Sadatō, and the court forces, led by Yoriyoshi and his son Yoshiie, who would go on to become a significant talisman for the Seiwa Genji (Minamoto) family in the subsequent centuries.[190] *Mutsu Waki* was written in the latter half of the eleventh century. While it lacks the constructed artistry associated with the polished *Kakuichibon*

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[185] 漢文, a form of classical Japanese written in Chinese character order, often used for records, diaries and other formal documentation.

[186] McCullough, "A Tale of Mutsu," 186. McCullough believes that the fact it is written in Chinese, rather than Japanese has an impact on this classification.

[187] One such example can be found in Yukiie's letter about his father. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:87.

[188] 陸奥話記

[189] While Helen McCullough's version in English is thorough, I have chosen to use as my base source Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:230–51. The version that appears in Yamagishi's edited volume is written in Classical Japanese, extracted from the original *kanbun* text, and thus retaining the original graphs and textual nuances. Where translations appear these are my own based on this text unless otherwise stated. In order to corroborate the use of characters and the authenticity of Yamagishi's text, I have also consulted a digital edition in kanbun from the National Diet Library Digital Archive: *Mutsu Waki|Go-Sannen-Ki*.

[190] Friday, "Former Nine Years' War (1051-1062)."

Heike, Mutsu Waki nevertheless provides a rudimentary introduction to some of the values that underpin the better-known *gunki-monogatari* texts. In examining this case study, I will evaluate the significance of the horse in the overall construction of the tale, both in context with the ideas of centre and periphery raised in my introduction, and as a textual mechanism representing broader plot themes. This evaluation will lay the groundwork for further investigation into how horses are used to present bigger plot themes and more complex ideas in later texts, offering a glimpse into the motives behind their construction.

Mutsu Waki was, as the author admits, composed from official province war records and rumours circulating at the time.[191] The term *waki* orthographically means 'oral record', making a potential translation for the title "The Oral Records of Mutsu", or, maybe more literally, "the talk and records of Mutsu", indicating its two main sources of information.[192] It is inevitably biased by the recollections of the victor, and is a second-hand account of the events it describes. The adulation ascribed to Yoriyoshi, his allies and his eldest son and heir Yoshiie must, therefore, be considered with due scepticism. While these aspects are problematic for historians studying the actual events of the Nine Years War, *Mutsu Waki* presents valuable insight into how characters were depicted, and is useful when looking at the evolution of horses as symbols of power and influence in warrior society. It is also highly relevant to this study, as Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie are the ancestors of later Minamoto Shoguns, and their actions form a key part of the shogunate's political legitimisation as leaders and rulers of Japan. These individuals and their exploits are frequently referred to in *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

Themes of centre and periphery, both geographically and culturally, are prevalent within *Mutsu Waki*. The fighting takes place in the north, between forces representing the court (here, the centre) and those representing the interests of the northern Abe family, including *ezo* people, possibly the Ainu, who were considered socially peripheral due to their customs and culture. While Yoriyoshi's forces are labelled *kangun* (court army) and Yoriyoshi himself is often referred to as *shōgun*, the Abe army are frequently made 'other' by terms such as *zoku/ata* (rebel, insurgent) or *tomogara* (mob), implying no formal organisation within their ranks.

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[191] Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:251. In the words of the text, 「今国解の文を抄し、衆口の話を拾ひて、一巻に注せり」

[192] 話 wa, from hanasu, to speak and 記, ki, from shirusu, to record.

The horse is an active participant in the tale, and the text's frequent references to "men and horses"[193] present the horse as a legitimate member of the retinue, even to the point of being taken as a prisoner of war.[194] While the horse's active involvement is important, the text uses equine depiction in another way as well. The horses not only physically cross the battlefield, their movement is also associated with the transition of the rider between life and death, as they play a pivotal role in determining the fate of their 'battle partners'. *Mutsu Waki*'s use of horses on a symbolic level conveys direct transfers of power between individuals in a less explicit way. By examining the first conflict in the account, we can see how a sequenced pattern of cause and effect begins to emerge.

At this point in the war, court forces are far from their home base, and both men and horses are hungry and tired. As if to create a direct contrast, the text immediately shifts perspective, stating that 'the rebel mob [the Abe force led by Abe no Sadatō] brought out fresh horses with reins/headgear and galloped forth, attacking the tired-legged [court] army'.[195] Less than two lines further on we learn the consequence of this action: 'Most of the court force were defeated, and several hundred men died'.[196] This demonstrates how the physical state of the horse can be used within the text to inform the reader about the prospects of the associated army. The horses on the court side are tired and the horses on the Abe side are noted as being fresh, and so a massacre ensues in the Abe's favour. This goes beyond the idea of a horse as part of a warrior's identity and a retainer in battle, implying a subtler equine influence in the battle outcome. The common theme in both the statement about the tired court forces and the Abe's vigour is the horse, and that contrast clearly shows that power, and the military advantage, is in the hands of the Abe army.

The symbolic importance of the horse is also emphasised on examining the structure of the sentence regarding the rebels' fresh horses:

[193] 人馬. for example 「光貞、元貞等、野宿して人馬を殺し傷つけらぬとまうせり」 Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:232.
[194] Yamagishi, 8:243. Here the text describes how more than a hundred men were killed and how more than three hundred horses were taken captive (奪取).
[195] Yamagishi, 8:235.
[196] Yamagishi, 8:235.

賊の輩は新たなる羈の馬を馳せて、疲れたる足の軍を敵つ[197]

（‘the rebel mob brought out fresh horses with reins/headgear and galloped forth, attacking the tired-legged [court] army’)

In this short sentence, horses appear orthographically three times. Aside from the directly stated *uma* 馬[198], the kanji for *omotsura* 羈[199] and *haseru* 馳[200] also contain the horse graph as a character radical. The graphs complement the horse's active involvement and elevate its importance as a sub-textual symbol of power transfer. The inclusion of the headgear, or *omotsura* - which McCullough's translation elides completely[201] - also implies that the Abe's forces have *control* of the horses. They not only possess the power and momentum, they also dominate it, and, as such, exact a crushing defeat on their foes. Not only is the momentum given to them by means of equine representation, but the barrier between life and death has been broken down. Actions of human warriors are not mentioned in the slaughter – it is the Abe's fresh horses alone that foreshadow the imminent demise of hundreds of Minamoto warriors.

This kind of sequence is not uncommon within *Mutsu Waki'*s battle scenes, although the scale on which they are enacted varies between individual warriors and large groups. Although the advantage is still with the Abe at this point, the text is still being written with a Minamoto bias and, subsequently, this balance of power is somewhat altered in the next few lines of the conflict. While the rest of the court forces are being decimated, Yoshiie is unscathed and still fighting. The text states:

> Yoshiie, eldest son of the Shogun [Yoriyoshi], far exceeded the bravery of the [Abe] mob, *firing arrows from horseback*[202] like a god. Risking [attack from] silver-white blades, he repeatedly broke through the surrounding enemy, riding left and right through the mob. He carried arrows with large arrowheads and repeatedly shot the rebel leader(s). He fired not a single wasted arrow, and all those he hit went down without exception.[203]

Yoshiie's equine sequence runs against the flow of the battle, and yet, in the same way as the fresh horses turned the tide for the Abe, Yoshiie's skills on horseback have an

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[197] ‘*zoku no tomogara wa aratanaru omotsura no uma o hasete, tsukaretaru ashi no ikusa o utsu'* Yamagishi, 8:235.
[198] horse
[199] In this usage, omotsura, or omogai can be interpreted as the horse's headgear or reins.
[200] To run swiftly, or in this context, gallop.
[201] McCullough, "A Tale of Mutsu," 191. McCullough refers only to 'rebels with fresh mounts'.
[202] 騎射
[203] Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:235.

almost divine effect on preserving his life. This feature of the text shows similarities to a concept identified by Bruce Louden in his work on Homeric epic, in which the hero of a dramatic scene is put in a dangerous position, only to evade the danger and triumph.[204] While Louden's argument relies in part on the inclusion of a "if not for x, y" statement, his observations about the impact of such a scene is still valid.[205] Discussing Odysseus's escape from a shipwreck, Louden states:

> The sequence also constitutes an implicit positive editorial comment on Odysseus. In the midst of such trial he performs heroic feats of swimming and endurance, the passage illuminating qualities unique to [him].[206]

A similar observation can be made here about Yoshiie. Rather than relying on an "if x had not happened, y" construction, Yoshiie's actions are dictated by the fact the text states explicitly that he is on horseback. In the context of the battle, there is no need to explain this – such a situation can be assumed by who he is and what he is doing. The writer's intent to remind the reader that he is *shooting arrows while riding a horse* emphasises the importance of the steed to Yoshiie's invincibility, making him stand out in the face of his comrades' carnage. Unlike the court mounts, mentioned earlier, it appears that Yoshiie's horse is *not* tired, and he is able to fight on. An additional equine reference adds further weight to this interpretation. The text's choice of word for bravery, 驍勇（*gyōyū*, glossed by Yamagishi as *'isamitakeki*'）also conveys the importance of the horse in Yoshiie's performance. Like the graphs for *omotsura* and *haseru*, the first kanji, 驍, also contains the horse radical. This character on its own has the meaning of strength but can also be interpreted as a 'good horse'.[207] The writer is not focusing on Yoshiie's steed, rather on Yoshiie's divine skills. Although his army's tired mounts indicate their imminent defeat, Yoshiie alone can ride through the centre unscathed, and this use of kanji suggests this is because he still possesses equine momentum. While we cannot know for certain that this was the writer's intention, the emphasis given to the horses in the text overall suggests that, in using this term, the writer intended to once again demonstrate the strong connection between man and

[204] Louden, "A Narrative Technique in Beowulf and Homeric Epic," 346.
[205] For example, Louden states that in scenes such as the one cited follow a pattern of 'if not for the intervention of x (usually a deity) then the hero would not have survived (y)'. It is telling here that Yoshiie's appearance is also related to divine ability, although there is no "if not for x, y" sequence in the *Mutsu Waki* scene. Ibid.
[206] Louden, "A Narrative Technique in Beowulf and Homeric Epic," 350.
[207] Haig et al., *The New Nelson Japanese-English Character Dictionary*, sec. 187:12.

beast. The second character, 勇, also incorporates the graph for man, 男. The subsequent compound of 驍 (horse radical) and 勇 (man radical) to indicate bravery impresses on the reader once again the united position of 'men and horses' mentioned above.

Within the text, the fates of individual warriors are also directly connected to the fates of their horses, often through a dismount. In this same fraught battle sequence, with the court forces in disarray, several horse-related exchanges take place. The following table (*fig 5*) shows the cause and effect of these equine sequences.[208]

Initial equine-related action	**Subsequent event**	**Ultimate consequence**
Yoriyoshi's horse is injured.	Yoriyoshi receives the horse of his retainer, Kagemichi.	Yoriyoshi survives and is not captured.
Yoshiie's horse is killed.	Yoshiie receives from his retainer Noriaki a horse stolen from an Abe warrior.	Yoshiie immediately shoots dead an Abe military leader, Kawaisui.
Kagemichi's son, Kagesue's horse stumbles.	Kagesue is taken prisoner by the Abe.	Although respecting Kagesue as a brave warrior, the Abe force executes him.
"The Unbeaten" Taira no Kunitae's horse collapses.	Kunitae is taken prisoner.	Kunitae is the nephew of an Abe commander and so is pardoned but this is a great dishonour to his standing as a warrior.

Fig 5. Equine actions and consequences in Mutsu Waki: The Dismount Principle.

This feature of a War Tale text to use dismounting a horse to foreshadow the fate of that individual is a concept I call the Dismount Principle. All four examples above relate a negative event occurring to a horse, resulting in the dismount of the rider, although the impact of this dismount depends on whether it is temporary or permanent. The first two examples show Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie losing their horses through enemy action. In both cases, however, a replacement is available. Yoriyoshi receives the mount of Kagemichi, his retainer, whilst Yoshiie's is taken from the enemy. The ability of these two

[208] Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:p236-7.

individuals to succeed despite their dismount indicates that there is more at work here than a binary relationship between dismount and disaster. On the contrary, it suggests that individuals in the saddle have the best chance of success – while those dismounted lose their forward momentum. A battle is a dangerous situation, where lives are on the line on both sides. Dismounting in a real battle would demonstrate a weaker position than being mounted on horseback. Like the beasts of battle in Adrien Bonjour's analysis of the *Battle of Malden – Mutsu Waki* transforms a real battlefield scenario familiar to its readers into a means of explaining the flow of a far more complex conflict.[209] Far from being simply about centre (court army) versus periphery (Abe rebels), this battle also nuances success and failure by using the horse to navigate the unpredictability of the battlefield. A dismounted rider gambled their life in the uncertainty of battle. In *Mutsu Waki*, the warriors who gamble and win return to the saddle again, retaining control and momentum, and preserving their lives. Those that are destined to fail remain dismounted, and ultimately are either killed or shamed.

In the above examples, Yoriyoshi is given a horse by his retainer, who thus succeeds in preserving his lord's life. By contrast, Yoshiie, manages kill the Abe warrior Kawaisui immediately after receiving a stolen enemy horse. In possessing the *enemy*'s horse, Yoshiie has not only gambled and won, he has also taken some of the rebels' power and momentum, symbolised here by the stolen horse. Although these exchanges take place within a period of heavy pressure from the Abe towards the court army, their inclusion indicates to the reader that these two individuals (Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie), as representatives of the Seiwa Genji family, have the tenacity to see out the danger and ultimately triumph. By contrast, in the second two examples, neither individual receives a fresh horse. This failure to remount marks a negative end to their conflict, again reinforcing the idea that the tide has now turned against them. Both men are subsequently captured; Kagesue is executed and Kunitae, while pardoned, is considered shamed, his undefeated reputation destroyed. Neither of these individuals are Seiwa Genji – Kunitae's given name is Taira. Under pressure, and against the odds, this transfer of horses and the ability to remount in the face of disaster tells the reader that the Seiwa Genji will come through and triumph, even where their allies fall short. The receipt of replacement horses by those in command of the court army underscores for

[209] Bonjour, "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle."

the reader not only the legitimacy of the Minamoto cause, but also their ultimate success, despite this setback.

Further examples of equine significance can be found in the ultimate defeat of Abe no Sadatō's forces. In this instance, the use of the horse indicates a reversal of fortunes, with the military momentum now reflected on the Minamoto side, rather than on the Abe's. In spite of the Abe's crushing victory earlier in the text, the pattern of statements relating to horses gradually lead the reader towards the inevitable defeat of Sadatō and his men. The first indication that momentum has shifted from the Abe to the Minamoto comes with the use of the term *boukohyouka* 暴虎憑河 (reckless) to describe Yoriyoshi's army. Again, the horse radical appears in the third character, 憑, which also has the meaning 'depend' or 'rely on'. Immediately following this description of the Minamoto warriors, we discover that more than a hundred of Sadatō's men lie dead, and, even more damning, three hundred horses have been captured.[210] The fact that horses are cited indicates that Sadatō's position will not recover. Compare this with the previous massacre of the Minamoto, in which many men (but no horses) were said to have been killed.[211] The tally of dead humans is higher for the Minamoto, yet the defeat of the Abe is ultimately more decisive, indicating that the horse, not the human, is the vital component in victory or defeat. Sadatō's loss of horses equates on a grand scale to the individual losses of Kagesue and Kunitae, in the earlier skirmish. The lack of replacements to fill the gap left by the three hundred stolen steeds informs the reader that the Abe momentum has ended and the tide of the conflict has changed. Yoriyoshi reaches his battle position at the hour of the horse, and this too foreshadows the Minamoto victory.[212]

With Sadatō's death, the cycle of power is complete. The momentum possessed by the 'fresh mounts' of the rebels in the earlier battle has been smashed away by the capture of three hundred horses and the relentless, reckless attack of the Minamoto. The historical accuracy of the record is less important than the message of the battle itself. The writer has used the horse throughout to highlight the key shifts in power and position through the nine-year conflict. The writer of *Mutsu Waki* transforms nine years

[210] Yamagishi, *Kodai seiji shakai shisō*, 8:243.
[211] Yamagishi, 8:235. The text refers to shisuru *mono* 死する者(killed people) and sūhyaku*nin* 数百人 (a few hundred people), indicating this figure relates only to the death of humans, not of horses.
[212] Yamagishi, 8:244.

of warfare into a few key individual skirmishes between the Abe and the Minamoto, utilising the horse as a way of conveying to the audience the key shifts of power that lead, ultimately, to the Minamoto victory.

The Dismount Principle and Political Status in the War Tales

The ideas identified in the above analysis are not unique to *Mutsu Waki*. On the contrary, this means of foreshadowing an individual's destruction can also be found within many other War Tale texts. The Dismount Principle is used extensively within *Mutsu Waki* to demonstrate battlefield victories and defeats, and centres predominately on the fate of the individual. Other examples of this usage can be found in texts such as *Hōgen Monogatari* (Tale of Hōgen) and *Heiji Monogatari* (Tale of Heiji), short War Tale texts thought to date from the early thirteenth century, which depict military skirmishes in the capital in 1156 and 1159-60 respectively. The continued usage of the horse to present these ideas in later texts demonstrates the importance of equine representation in the construction of these stories.

Adolphson and Kamens defined how the spaces between geographical and political entities helped to inform definitions of centre and periphery in the Heian period.[213] Horses played a dominant role in connecting these geographical locations and transferring authority between the capital and the provinces through equine religious offerings and gifts.[214] In battle, a similar transfer of centre and periphery takes place through the Dismount Principle – defining the victor as central and the loser as peripheral by determining those individuals capable of returning to the saddle. While in a wrestling match, both warriors are often dismounted. In these moments, both warriors occupy the space between centre (victory) and periphery (defeat), but only the victor can remount his horse and claim the central territory. Warriors who remount are generally praised and are often able to leave the conflict without being accused of desertion – such as Kaneko no Jirō Ietada in the *Hōgen Monogatari*. Ietada is dismounted in a struggle with an opponent but wins his wrestling bout and retakes the saddle. He subsequently withdraws from the battle unmolested, his actions legitimised by praise from both allies and enemies.[215] Ietada's reputation is sealed by his ability to

[213] Smits, "The Way of the Literati," 118–22; Kamens and Adolphson, "Between and Beyond Centers and Peripheries," 2–3.
[214] von Verschuer, "Life of Commoners in the Provinces," 308–9.
[215] *Hōgen Monogatari, Heiji Monogatari*.

dominate the space between victory and defeat and maintain access to his steed. Such victories are also often foreshadowed by the structure of the text prior to the encounter. In Ietada's case, although he has no prior battle experience, his appearance as a warrior to be reckoned with is determined by his opponents from the moment he is seen mounting his horse.[216] No such similar description exists for his opponent, thus it is clear that Ietada will be victorious even before the encounter has begun. The text's praise makes Ietada central and legitimate, constructing the broader framework of his victory.

The narrow margins of triumph and defeat in such one-on-one encounters would have resonated with the mediaeval Japanese warrior. While *Mutsu Waki* predominantly uses the horse to negotiate the flow of battle, the Dismount Principle in a War Tale text can also be employed on a broader scale to indicate the fall of a political faction. Bonjour's observations of how the motif of ravens and wolves evolve between the *Battle of Malden* and *Beowulf* provides a similar paradigm to how a simple dismount can symbolise the fall of a wider cause.[217] *Hōgen Monogatari* recounts the death of Fujiwara Yorinaga, who, in fleeing the Shirakawa Palace, is shot in the neck by an arrow.[218] Yorinaga is not immediately killed, but he becomes unable to control his horse and falls. His accompanying retinue struggle to support him, trying repeatedly in vain to return him to the saddle. The obsession of Yorinaga's followers in trying to return him to his own mount, despite his inability to continue riding, seems a very inefficient escape plan. Moreover, Yorinaga – as a court noble – would have been more likely to travel in a palanquin rather than on horseback, making the whole scenario somewhat contrived. The text's compilers appear to prioritise the need to try to keep Yorinaga in the saddle in their version of the story. I hypothesise that this is because the symbolic element of his mounted status is tied directly to the success or failure of his political agenda. Yorinaga's physical helplessness ultimately renders him politically doomed. He has lost the battle, the ability to ride his own horse – and, soon, will also lose his life. Although a significant political figure, Yorinaga's failure to remain in the saddle relegates his cause to the periphery, laying the groundwork for his opponents to claim the central ground. This symbolism is significant when considering that the Hōgen

[216]「奴はけな者かな。ここにて射落つとりたらば、多勢がろり籠って討たりとこそいはんずれ」 31:113.
[217] Bonjour, "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle."
[218] *Hōgen Monogatari, Heiji Monogatari*, 31:120.

uprising marked the start of a shift at court between the authority of Yorinaga's Fujiwara family and the encroaching Ise Taira.

A similar example of the Dismount Principle being used to signify the fall of a wider faction can be found in *Heiji Monogatari*. This is the attempted flight of Nobuyori from the Taiken Gate, following the collapse of his coup administration. Here it is fear, rather than an injury, which makes Nobuyori fall from his horse, but in the same way, his inability to stay mounted demonstrates his defeat, his lost momentum, and foreshadows his imminent demise, both politically and literally.[219] Like Yorinaga, Nobuyori – who at the start of the text had control of the political centre – is thrust out on the periphery and doomed because he cannot stay in the saddle.

In both above examples, court figures being dismounted as individuals represent the defeat of wider political factions.[220] This same motif can be found in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Munemori, then head of the doomed Taira family, is humiliated falling from a skittish horse in front of a large number of important people during a celebration for his advancement of rank, hinting that, while he has obtained central authority, his position lacks legitimacy and will soon be overthrown.[221] The defeated prince Mochihito, once a potential candidate for the Imperial throne, also falls from his horse several times during his attempted flight towards Nara. He is ultimately shot from the saddle and dies of his wounds.[222] Although others later claim to take up arms in his name, Mochihito's son is forced to take holy orders and thus prevented from inheriting future power. In all these cases, the failure of bigger political ideals is foreshadowed by, and communicated to the audience, through the failure of their instigators to remain on their horses.

Imai Seinosuke has identified the important role played by the dismount in War Tale texts. Focusing predominantly on examples from the *Taiheiki*, Imai discusses several different circumstances in which a warrior might be forced to (or choose to) dismount. He suggests the following reasons (the bracketed labels are my own):[223]

- To pray (reverential dismount)
- The injury or collapse of a horse or rider (forced dismount)

[219] 31:224.
[220] Yorinaga's death is also mentioned in the *Genpei Jōsuiki,* and its relevance to my study will be addressed in Chapter Four.
[221] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:117.
[222] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:76,93.
[223] Imai, "Kiba Musha Ga Uma Yori Oriru Toki," 26,28.

- To wrestle with an enemy (conscious dismount)
- Inviting an enemy to engage in conflict (proactive dismount)
- To get closer to an enemy (tactical dismount)
- To fake weakness (deceptive dismount)

Some of these examples have already been discussed in this chapter, through the analysis of the *Mutsu Waki* and other texts mentioned above. One difference which can be identified from Imai's analysis of the *Taiheiki* is that there is a conscious choice to dismount a horse, as well as the forced dismount, seen in the *Mutsu Waki*. The roles of deception, of acting as a substitute or diversion for one's lord, and the importance of hierarchy in these texts, can also be implied by this list of six reasons to dismount.

While Imai mentions the reverential dismount in context with religious deference, there are also examples in the War Tales where this same dismount protocol is used between warriors. One such sequence in *Genpei Jōsuiki* depicts a warrior called Chikatada removing his helmet and dismounting his horse to pay his respects to his general, Yoshinaka. Chikatada subsequently goes to pray at Hachiman's shrine in a similarly respectful manner, but this time Yoshinaka is alongside him to pay his respects.[224] This usage suggests that, while the idea of deference to a deity is enforced in these kinds of texts, they form a bigger depiction of the concept of overall hierarchy, both between warrior individuals, as well as between humans and the divine. Unlike incidents of the Dismount Principle in battle, where lives are at stake, dismounting to pay respects to a higher authority appears to suggest voluntarily submitting one's momentum (and, perhaps, also one's life) to a superior power. Rules of dismount and the social hierarchy were important means of denoting status between individuals in this time period. This use of the dismount to indicate who is in command and who is subordinate helps to denote the warrior hierarchy even when not actively involved in battle. These ideas of hierarchy will form a significant part of this thesis analysis in my later chapter case studies.

Imai discusses the wide-ranging role of dismounting in the War Tales, and particularly cites the example of a warrior in the *Taiheiki*, who chooses to dismount his horse unexpectedly. This action presages the warrior's death. Imai concludes that the relationship between this dismount and the warrior's death must be a textual mechanism

[224] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:93–94.

of some kind, but that the meaning has long since been lost. He suggests more research is necessary to shed light on this problem.[225] I propose that this textual mechanism is, in fact, the horse itself, and that this incident is an example of the Dismount Principle in play, drawing attention to the man's dismount to help frame the bigger message of his impending death. Specific details like this use individual acts and incidents to help explain the bigger event to the reader or audience. As with *Mutsu Waki*, which condenses nine or ten years of conflict into a few skirmishes around horse momentum and ownership, I argue that the other War Tales – including *Taiheiki*, and in particular, *Genpei Jōsuiki* (which this thesis will go on to analyse in detail), also privilege horses in their accounts in order to communicate ideas relating to status, power, success and failure.

The Value of a Horse in Mediaeval Japan

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, Japanese horses of the mediaeval period, despite being a core factor of military identity, were often not particularly impressive animals. The dichotomy between a beast valued enough to influence styles of warfare and yet one that was small in stature, easily tired and sometimes impractical, raises questions about the symbolic and ideological role of horses within texts such as the *Heike* corpus.[226] The heavy emphasis on the value of a horse's life is key to understanding battlefield behaviour depictions in the War Tales. Reliance on the horse even when more efficient methods of killing the enemy existed indicates that the use of the horse was tied symbolically to the way the warrior viewed himself. War Tale texts represented this ideology, but also helped to feed it. This is especially true of *Genpei Jōsuiki*, which often includes the military strategy and details on the manner of troop deployment by both sides in particular conflicts.[227] One specific example of this can be found around Yoshinaka's planning for the Kurikara confrontation. Not only does Yoshinaka explicitly state that in a direct confrontation, the force with the most riders is bound to win, he plots the division of his army with mathematical precision, setting up several smaller confrontations in which individual warriors have the chance to shine.[228] As Kawai notes, the exaggeration of equine exploits in these tales (such as the cliff

[225] Imai, "Kiba Musha Ga Uma Yori Oriru Toki," 35.
[226] Conlan, *State of War*, 20; Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 44.
[227] Saeki Shin'ichi has written on the status of 'gunki' as war strategy manuals. Saeki, "'Heike Monogatari' Wa 'Gunki' Ka?"
[228] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:155–56.

descent at Hiyodorigoe) also demonstrates the kind of abilities that the ideal horse was perceived to have, even if, in reality, that was not the case.[229] The horse takes on a more symbolic role as the conduit of the warrior's success or failure, becoming a determining factor in the outcome. While much of the evidence relied on by Conlan and Kawai relates to research carried out on fourteenth century archaeological and documentary evidence, I believe that it is relevant to a study of horse representation in War Tale texts, not least because many of the well-known War Tales extant today (such as the *Kakuichibon Heike* and the *Taiheiki*) are thought to have been compiled in this time period, and were certainly being performed for high ranking members of the Ashikaga shogunal government.[230]

The warrior attitude to horses at the time when these texts reached political prominence is significant. The *Baishōron (*Theories of Pine and Plum*)*, another text of the fourteenth century which tells the story of the Ashikaga rise to power in the 1330s, also uses horses to convey the idea of power transference. In recounting the events of the Jōkyū Uprising of 1221, the *Baishōron* has Yoritomo's widow Masako bemoaning the threat of defeat in the following terms (as translated by Shuzo Uyenaka):

> "I would be very sorry to live to see the graves of the three Shoguns trampled by the horses of Western warriors. There is no reason for me to go on living. Kill me first, then go to join the Emperor."[231]

The horses depict not only the power structure of the enemy, here represented by Imperial forces, but the threat they pose to the fragile government of Kamakura. This remark, made within a text which depicts the eventual collapse of that government, acts to foreshadow the events to come, again transmitted through the image of the horse. *Baishōron*, like the other texts discussed so far, also uses horses to help guide the reader in understanding the flow of a complicated series of conflicts. Horses are clearly used to demonstrate advantage and disadvantage in these situations. A warrior called Myōe, for example, is reported to have committed suicide following a fire that burnt to ashes both his horses and his weaponry, making it impossible for him to fight.[232] Other stories present a more positive angle, for example, that of Soga Morosuke obtaining a 'good

[229] Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 46–48.
[230] Ruch, "Akashi No Kakuichi," 42.
[231] *From Baishōron to Nantaiheiki*, 33.
[232] Ibid. 84.

horse', which leads to subsequent military success.[233] Finally, in a sinister conclusion to a siege, the *Baishōron* tells us that the men trapped inside the castle were able to prolong their lives by eating their horses.[234] This example demonstrates the liminal quality of horses as being a deciding factor in who lives and dies. The action of eating horses is heavily criticised by the text's writers, who assert that the future lives of these transgressors are in jeopardy, because they have essentially fallen to the realm of hungry ghosts (a reincarnation status considered one of the demonic or sinful realms of rebirth) in this lifetime. As Ambros notes, eating horses was considered a particularly serious crime. By the mediaeval period, the belief that a human would be reborn as a horse or ox as punishment for their deeds in life meant a stronger connection between man and animal.[235] The suggestion that killing and eating a horse or an ox might be to eat a reborn member of one's family explains the emphatic way in which *Baishōron* castigates these individuals. By committing this transgression, they are effectively doomed, both in terms of this life, and the next. The *Baishōron*'s use of horses reflects clearly the mindset of the period in which it was constructed, and the significance of these animals within that mindset.

The use of the horse as a vehicle through which themes of the warrior are represented exists beyond the fourteenth century, although there is less research relating to their symbolic usage in this period. Vivienne Kenrick has observed that, as the mediaeval period progressed, it was harder for warriors to obtain good horses.[236] The enjoyment factor contained in tales of the past, where horses were thought to be plentiful enough to fill every battlefield, probably added more prestige to the status and achievements of these historical individuals. Certainly, the dwindling supply of viable equines did not prevent horse-centric stories from occupying a key role in later mediaeval and early Edo war chronicles and tales. The sixteenth century *Kōnodai Senki* (War Tale of Kōnodai) depicts a horse called Onitsukige, who returns home to 'announce' the death of his master, before collapsing and dying in the courtyard.[237] Another tale appears in sundry Edo period texts, where the financial sacrifice of Yamauchi Kazutoyo's wife, Chiyo, enables him to buy a prized steed. This action not

[233] Ibid. 90.
[234] Ibid. 116.
[235] Ambros, "Animals in Japanese Buddhism," 257.
[236] Kenrick, *Horses in Japan*, 40.
[237] Thornton, "Kōnodai Senki," 343,370.

only saves the honour of his family, but also advances him in the attentions of his lord, Oda Nobunaga, the first of three significant military figures in the re-unification of Japan during the late sixteenth century.[238] Both these stories are questionable as history – the actual name of Yamauchi's wife, for example, is unknown.[239] In both cases, the horses are used to represent to the audience the shifting fortunes of the individuals who own them, whether it be depicting the tragedy of their death or the joy of their social advance. With these ideas in mind, I would now like to move the focus of this chapter towards my key War Tale text, *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

[238] Matsuura, "Yamauchi Kazutoyo," 1.
[239] Matsuura, 2.

Section II: Equine Representation and *Genpei Jōsuiki*

As the table at the start of this chapter (*fig 4*) shows, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses a greater quantity of horses in the construction of its stories than most of the other variants. Part of the reason for this increase can be put down to the larger number of battle scenes that appear in the text, but the increased equine presence cannot be entirely explained through this method. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s fondness for named horses and their characteristics helps to reinforce them as characters involved in driving the plot as much as their human counterparts. Many stories surrounding horses in this text reflect on those considered to be *meiba* (or prized steeds). The close relationship between the portrayal of the horse and that of the rider is a significant factor in evaluating the way in which *Genpei Jōsuiki* manipulates its equine cast. This section will investigate the ways in which the horse is utilised within this text, beginning with an examination of the use of the dismount. By evaluating several scenes in which the horse plays a prominent role, it is possible to establish some core themes of *Genpei Jōsuiki* for close textual analysis in subsequent chapters.

Case Study: The Dismount Principle in Kurikara Valley[240]

The Taira's defeat against Yoshinaka's forces in the battles surrounding Tonamiyama and Kurikara Valley is presented in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a confrontation in which horses play a pivotal role. Unlike the *Kakuichibon Heike,* which focuses on the tragedy of the encounter, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses many of the representational techniques identified in the earlier *Mutsu Waki* case study, as well as some of the modifications often found in later War Tale texts, to construct its battle scenes. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s account covers the actions and the fates of many named individual warriors, and we can use these events to construct a similar table as that used earlier in the chapter, demonstrating how *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises the Dismount Principle. Among Imai's six identified types of dismount in the War Tales mentioned previously, the most frequently occurring in this scene appears to be that of a forced dismount, which occurs either through injury to the horse or to the rider, as in the *Mutsu Waki* case study.

[240] All the examples in this analysis can be found in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:161–76.

Initial equine-related action/associated warrior	Subsequent event	Ultimate consequence
Kagetaka's horse is shot by Yukichika's arrow	Kagetaka is forcibly dismounted by Yukichika	Kagetaka is killed in single combat with Yukichika
Mikawa Governor Tomonori's horse is struck by an enemy arrow	Tomonori falls from his horse.	Tomonori kills his opponent but is set upon by other enemy retainers. Fatally injured, he commits suicide.
Matano Gorō Kagehisa sustains a serious injury on horseback	Matano dismounts his horse	Matano commits suicide
Seno'o Kaneyasu is challenged on horseback to wrestle an enemy	Kaneyasu dismounts to wrestle	Kaneyasu is taken prisoner alive (and later executed)
Saimyō is pursued on horseback by Minamoto warriors	Saimyō is forcibly dismounted by the Minamoto	Saimyō is taken prisoner alive (and later executed).
Nagatsuna challenges Yasuie to wrestle him, in order to cover the escape of his allies.	Nagatsuna dismounts to wrestle	Nagatsuna has the upper hand but is ultimately killed by Yasuie's uncle.

Fig 6. Equine actions and consequences in Genpei Jōsuiki (Book 30)

As Imai noted in his study of the *Taiheiki*, there are more nuances in the means of dismounting present in later texts. Exceptions to the pattern of forced dismounts can be seen in the examples of Kaneyasu and Nagatsuna, both of which are conscious dismounts. The case of Nagatsuna will be further discussed later in the chapter, while Kaneyasu chooses to dismount in order to engage his opponent in a wrestling match (a conscious dismount). Although not a 'forced' dismount in the manner of the others, ultimately Kaneyasu's choice to get down from his horse presages his surrender of control, and ultimately his life. As with the earlier example of Ietada, Kaneyasu chooses to gamble by entering the space between victory and defeat and wrestling his opponent. Unlike Ietada, however, Kaneyasu is unable to return to the saddle, and thus is taken prisoner. Individual examples like Kaneyasu, who choose to dismount in order to fight, but who are ultimately taken prisoner, are also used to demonstrate the impending failure of the wider military force (here Taira) that they represent. Again, individual

conflicts help to simplify for the audience the overall ebb and flow of a more complicated and chaotic confrontation, helping them to follow whose cause is more righteous through the actions of named participants. The image of a dismounted warrior cut down or captured as a result of being unable to return to the saddle acts as an effective signpost to the reader that their wider cause is illegitimate and peripheral, thus doomed to fail.

In the other examples, the element forcing the dismount (injury to man or horse) is clear. Tomonori, whose horse is downed by enemy fire, manages to kill his opponent, but is set upon by enemy loyalists and ultimately forced to take his own life. Kagetaka falls after his horse is shot dead under him, but his ultimate death follows a sword-fight and then, subsequently, a wrestling match with his opponent Yukichika. Yukichika's sporting behaviour to allow the wrestling match, and to bar his retainers from interfering, also offsets the dishonourable action of shooting a horse to bring a warrior down. Nonetheless, the role of the horse in foreshadowing the fall of an individual is still very clearly demonstrated in these examples, as is the legitimacy or otherwise of each competing faction.

Genpei Jōsuiki is a long text, and some individuals are only ever mentioned once. Several of them, however, have a wider role in the story. Kaneyasu, for example, is one of the warriors involved in the attack on the Regent, Motofusa (discussed in more detail in Chapter 4), where he is heavily criticised. In the same way, Saimyō was originally a retainer of Yoshinaka's who, through cowardice, defected and betrayed him to the Taira. The capture of these individuals is thus also a condemnation of their other actions through military justice, demonstrating their behaviour as peripheral. The text allows that message to be conveyed by depicting them as losers in an equine confrontation. Matano Gorō, on the other hand, while depicted as an enemy of the Minamoto, is generally presented fighting with courage and dedication, and does not betray his lord. As a result, his death is more honourable – at his own hand, rather than that of the enemy, despite the forced nature of his dismount. In this way, the text rewards Matano's loyal service and courage by preserving his honour, even while presenting his inevitable defeat. Matano's actions also reinforce the wider narrative that his military faction is doomed to lose this encounter. Although he himself has fought bravely and done everything right, the overall cause cannot succeed and thus Matano ends up taking his life. Matano's injured horse also helps to signify the doomed nature

of the Taira forces in this battle. The death of an individual singled out for praise and courageous fighting can be seen as a particularly devastating scalp in the aftermath of a particularly bloody sequence of battles.

Mutsu Waki identified momentum through the use of fresh or tired horses. In the events surrounding Kurikara, *Genpei Jōsuiki* also describes how, because the Taira men and horses are tired and weakened, over a thousand of them are swept away in the river and drowned. The trope of horses crossing a river is one that is featured a several times in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Two such crossings feature the River Uji, and in both cases, the army that successfully fords the river on horseback is the army who sees victory in the ensuing battle. The importance of the tired men and horses at Kurikara, therefore, helps to inform the reader of the hopelessness of the conflict for the Taira forces. Additionally, in the same way that Yoshiie is singled out for special attention in the *Mutsu Waki* for his equine skills, a similar status is given to Hatakeyama Shigetada in the *Jōsuiki*. In the Kurikara conflict, he is depicted as having a superior understanding of the behaviour of the enemy horses.[241] In a later scene, Shigetada also demonstrates an uncanny level of perception, identifying the call of a specific horse above the sounds of all the other gathered men and animals. Shigetada is almost depicted as a horse himself in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, a representation that becomes complete when he manages to cross the dangerous river Uji (described earlier in the text as fast-flowing, and which only a powerful horse could swim across) with his wounded steed swung over his shoulders.[242] His actions in the water at Uji River are given far more attention in *Genpei Jōsuiki* than the race to ride across the river first. Shigetada's superhuman momentum sees him not only named as the first to cross the river on foot, but also as the saviour of several other men, who he manages to singlehandedly rescue while still carrying his horse. This scenario is clearly unrealistic, but by becoming the 'horse', Shigetada transfers some of his momentum to these other individuals, allowing them to survive the treacherous waters.

Having established how the Dismount Principle operates within *Genpei Jōsuiki*, my analysis now turns to an examination of key scenes in which horses play an

[241] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:169–70.
[242] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:180–81.

important role. The prominent themes identified through this process will lay the groundwork for the close textual analysis in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

Loyal Unto Death: The Case of Kinebuchi Shōgenta Shigemitsu

When talking about the Japanese warrior, there is an expectation of loyal service to one's lord, and this theme is present within *Genpei Jōsuiki* as well. One of the most graphic and, perhaps poignant depictions of a warrior retainer's loyalty against adversity can be found in the story of Kinebuchi Shōgenta Shigemitsu, in book 27 of the text.[243] Shigemitsu is not a man of high rank, and is a retainer of a man called Ietoshi, who himself is subservient to the main battle commanders in the field. Although Shigemitsu has been in service to Ietoshi for many years, vicious rumours about his loyalty have left Shigemitsu excluded from his master's planned military attack. Shigemitsu is left behind, but, determined to clear his name with Ietoshi, he joins the conflict anyway, in search of his lord. He asks after Ietoshi's standard bearer and, discovering the man has been killed, sets off to hunt for Ietoshi's own distinctive armour. In doing so, he comes across his first indication that something is badly wrong – Ietoshi's horse, running wild and without his master in the saddle. Fearing the worst, Shigemitsu soon discovers that Ietoshi has already been defeated and beheaded by an enemy warrior, Hirosuke. Ietoshi's head now hangs on Hirosuke's saddle as a trophy of war, and Shigemitsu is distraught. Knowing that now he can never prove his loyalty to his master, he decides instead to do the only thing left to demonstrate fealty to Ietoshi. He charges in to confront Hirosuke, who, tired from his previous confrontation, tries to retreat. Shigemitsu is not to be gainsaid, however, and ultimately succeeds in engaging Hirosuke in battle. He forces Hirosuke from his mount and decapitates him. Taking Hirosuke's head, and reclaiming that of his master, he bemoans the vicious rumours that have led him to be estranged from Ietoshi at such a moment, and vows that he will soon join his lord in the next life. Announcing in a loud voice to all the nearby warriors that he has slain Hirosuke, the killer of his master, he draws the enemy towards him and fights bravely. Ultimately, gravely wounded, he discards Hirosuke's head as though it were worthless, and, clutching Ietoshi's head to his breast, he takes his own sword, placing it in his mouth and plunging forward from his horse onto the ground, severing

[243] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:97–99.

his life. Shigemitsu's act of selfless fealty to his lord is acclaimed by all who witness it.[244]

In scenes like this, the bigger themes of Minamoto versus Taira are lost in the details of the conflicts of lesser men and their individual achievements and failures. Shigemitsu is a minor figure in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and his sole purpose in the story appears to be to present the role of a loyal retainer to fight and die in the name of his lord, irrespective of his personal circumstances or disadvantage. Shigemitsu has already been the victim of unpleasant rumours, which have caused Ietoshi to doubt him. In spite of that, Shigemitsu's single-minded loyalty in first joining, then avenging his lord, and subsequently giving his own life to join Ietoshi in the next world, makes him an individual worthy of attention and praise in the eyes of the text. *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not dwell on who spread the rumours, or why. Instead, it glorifies Shigemitsu's sacrifice as the obvious action of a loyal retainer when faced with such a situation.

The tale of Shigemitsu uses horses to convey several of the twists in this brief but violent narrative. The reader has already ascertained Ietoshi's fate, as the story of his battle with Hirosuke has already been concluded earlier in the same section.[245] While the reader knows this, however, Shigemitsu's discovery of Ietoshi's abandoned horse is his first indication that his master has fallen foul of the enemy in some way. The appearance of the abandoned horse reinforces the Dismount Principle action that has taken place prior to Shigemitsu's arrival. Ietoshi has already been dismounted and killed before this stage of the narrative begins. Hirosuke's fastening of the head to the saddle also ties the horse into the gathering of trophies, ultimately with the intention of gaining rewards and possibly promotions following the conflict. When Shigemitsu discovers Ietoshi's fate, he charges towards Hirosuke, seeking to engage him in a fight. In the previous confrontation with Ietoshi, Hirosuke is depicted in the text as having the positive momentum, and it is Ietoshi who is at a disadvantage because of his tired horse. In facing Shigemitsu, however, it is now Hirosuke who is presented as tired, his earlier momentum gone. Because of this, he seeks to retreat rather than meet Shigemitsu's challenge. Just as the reader can infer from Ietoshi's weariness that the battle will go in Hirosuke's favour, now we understand that, in this confrontation, Shigemitsu will win. This subtle shift in the representation transforms Hirosuke from an attacking hero to a

[244] 5:99.
[245] 5:97.

retreating coward, adding righteousness to Shigemitsu's cause by making Hirosuke appear weak. Finally, Shigemitsu forces Hirosuke from the horse. Once dismounted, Hirosuke's fate is sealed.

Although victorious in the initial conflict, Shigemitsu's victory ends in death and failure, for he cannot save his lord. Despite being praised by the surrounding warriors for his fighting skill, Shigemitsu has lost the favour and trust of the only individual who really matters – Ietoshi. With Ietoshi's death, Shigemitsu is incapable of proving his loyalty, and thus his life is rendered meaningless to him. In losing his lord, he has lost his reason to continue fighting. In choosing a means of death which leads to him falling from his horse, Shigemitsu demonstrates that he has lost both the will, and momentum, to continue to fight, and thus no longer has a need to remain mounted. While portrayed as a hero for his battle valour, his loss of Ietoshi's trust leaves him on the periphery, thus guaranteeing his demise.

Shigemitsu's tale uses the horse to demonstrate transitions in the confrontation and helps to present Shigemitsu himself in two ways - as the wronged but righteous party, and the peripheral entity estranged from his lord's favour. Ultimately, his loss of Ietoshi's trust influences his decision to die, despite his courage and skill. This decision carries greater narrative weight than his fighting exploits, as *Genpei Jōsuiki* strongly emphasises the importance of the bond between lord and retainer. Shigemitsu's rank as a lower retainer, however, does not overshadow how his conduct on the battlefield is handled by the text. This sense of loyalty at all costs presents the idea that actions, rather than bloodline and connections, can also gain merit and honour in the eyes of society. This theme of loyal service is presented in many different stories within *Genpei Jōsuiki*.[246] Like the story of Shigemitsu, these tales also often involve horses, such as the anecdote relating to Kumagai Naozane's horse, Gonta Kurige. Not all horse names are consistent between scenes, but Gonta Kurige is associated with Naozane in both the battles of Uji River and Ichinotani.[247] In book 36, *Genpei Jōsuiki* explains the history of this horse which, while not the tallest in stature, is nonetheless sturdy, and capable of great endurance. Said to have been raised in the north, the text claims that the animal came into Naozane's hands through a loyal retainer called Gonta, who went to great

[246] One of these tales, that of Yorimasa's retainer, Kiō, will be discussed in some detail in Chapter Two of this thesis, while another, that of Sasaki Takatsuna, will be addressed in Chapter Three.
[247] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:156, 247.

pains to obtain it. The horse had a chestnut coat (*kurige*), and thus it was named Gonta Kurige, in acknowledgement of the retainer's efforts and its appearance. As Nagazuka Takashi has pointed out, the historical likelihood of a lesser warrior like Naozane having a retainer with the connections, knowledge and vast array of options to acquire a special horse is historically improbable. Moreover, there is a lack of evidence that warriors named horses after their retainers.[248] In light of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s apparent emphasis on loyal service, the use of Gonta's name for Naozane's horse appears more to indicate that a loyal retainer who works well for his lord will be justly rewarded, whether it be in reputation or in material gain. As with the tale of Shigemitsu, the horse plays a key part in depicting this status transition, albeit constructing the positive reputation of the retainer in a slightly different way.

Wild Horses: Mitsuhira's Ambition and Yoritomo's Conquest

In his study on the prized horses Ikezuki and Surusumi, Makino Atsushi observes how the horse can be seen both as a metaphorical symbol of worry and trouble and a defender against life's hardships in the form of a religious offering.[249] This suggestion of a dual meaning for the horse makes sense. Michael Como's analysis of the mounted deities and their ongoing conflict with the disease-spreading *ekijin,* or demonic mounted spirits, indicates a similar duality. The *ekijin*, seen as a foreign or peripheral entity, also demonstrates the transitional nature of the horse between centre and periphery – the normal and abnormal in ancient Japanese society.[250] In both cases, the horse is simultaneously a means of protection and of destruction. For Makino, the apparent contradiction suggests that an individual must attain enlightenment by facing one's own demons and battling for supremacy (perhaps by riding a horse into battle against a mounted enemy, in the manner of Como's mounted deities). Although Makino talks about this within a religious context, it can also be argued that this relates to the status of the warrior and their worldly reputation as well. A warrior's successful subjugation of a wild horse indicated not only that the individual was worthy and had control over their religious destiny, but also their military one. To control a horse with wild tendencies proved the warrior's worth and legitimacy, both in the hierarchy and in the eyes of their peers.

[248] Nagazuka, "Gonta Kurige," 15.
[249] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 182.
[250] Como, "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan," 407.

This reading of the horse, both as a barrier and an aide to an individual in this life, carries merit when considering the symbolic use of the horse within pre-modern literature. A scene in *Konjaku Monogatari* features warriors trying to ride wild horses in order to augment their status and reputation, and this kind of tale is not uncommon in War Tales, either.[251] Many of the prized horses mentioned in *Genpei Jōsuiki* (and indeed, in other *Heike* corpus texts as well) have liminal or wild behaviour traits. Ikezuki, a prized horse whose story will be explored further in Chapter Three, is known to bite or 'devour' individuals it does not consider worthy, although it does not bite Takatsuna, the warrior who is ultimately authorised to ride it. The ability of Takatsuna to manage this behavioural trait in the horse allows the reader to infer his worthiness to take the saddle. His ability to control a wild horse adds to the legitimacy of his military campaign, as well as his reputation as a warrior overall. Takatsuna is blessed both in a religious sense and in a military one.

The principal difference between a 'wild' horse and a 'domesticated' one is not so much in the warrior's ability to ride the animal, but to control it and channel its activity for one's own needs. The analysis of the *Mutsu Waki* earlier in the chapter demonstrated that the Abe's ability to control the momentum of their horses helped to add to their success. Kamo no Chōmei, the author of the thirteenth century tract, *Hōjōki*, analyses social shifts with specific reference to the saddle, an object on which any individual of status – not just a warrior – rides.[252] The saddle is a tool to subjugate and tame a horse, in order to allow a person to sit on its back and therefore dictate its movements. A key scene in *Genpei Jōsuiki* demonstrates this metaphor of the controlled horse as a wider demonstration of Yoritomo's future control over the whole of Japan. This account appears in the dream of Yoritomo's retainer, Morinaga. In the dream, Yoritomo is depicted straddling the landscape of Japan. While other scholars have discussed this scene, they have focused more on the aspects of the dream and the geographical implications of Morinaga's vision.[253] The metaphorical image of Yoritomo riding Japan as though it were a horse has been overlooked.

The scene appears early in book eighteen of *Genpei Jōsuiki*, in the section where Mongaku incites Yoritomo to rebel. Sandwiched between the death of Yoritomo's first

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[251] *Konjaku Monogatari Shū (4)*, 36:379–80. The scene involves two warriors competing, one of which, despite his inferior ability with the horse, chooses to ride a wild animal and, consequently, loses.
[252] *Hōjōki*, 27:31.
[253] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 41, 62; Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 43.

son and Mongaku's intercession is a brief account of Morinaga's dream, followed by the interpretation, provided by another retainer. The relevant line in the text, referring to Yoritomo's position, reads as follows:

「兵衛左足柄ノ矢倉岳ニ尻ヲ懸テ、左ノ足ニハ外浜ヲ踏ミ、右ノ足ニテハ鬼界島ヲ踏ミ」[254]

(Yoritomo sat down on the mountain of Yagura, to the left of Ashigawa, placing his left foot on Sotogahama and his right foot on Kikaigashima).

The mountain, Yagura-dake, is, as Elizabeth Oyler states, the eastern location from where Yoritomo's new 'centre' is about to be formed.[255] As I have already discussed, the concept of 'centre' is a fluid one, relative to the scene and context. Here it is also a raised space, above the normal lie of the land, and this is important as it mirrors the position of a leader on horseback, surrounded by men on the ground. A higher position is also indicative of a higher rank of power. This mirrors the idea of a new 'centre' of power created in the equine metaphor, for in Japanese, it is common to speak of going 'up to the capital' 上京 (*jōkyō*). Sometimes the capital itself is not mentioned, and direction is dictated by the verbs *noboru* 上る (ascend) and *kudaru* 下る (descend). The linguistic parallel is striking, as 下る is also used to signify warriors dismounting their horses (usually glossed here as *oriru*).

The quoted section of text states "*shiri o kakete*" – to sit down, or be seated on the mountain. The fact that Yoritomo is sitting on the mountain almost pre-empts the necessary interpretation of what comes next. His left leg – or probably, here, foot (*hidari no ashi*) is settled on Sotogahama, and his right (*migi no ashi*) is perched on Kikaigashima. The verb chosen to render these statements is '*fumi*'. The literal translation of this verb (*fumu* 踏む) is "to stand on". We already know, however, that Yoritomo is *seated* on Yagura Peak. He cannot, therefore, be standing on Sotogahama and Kikaigashima. I posit that the actual intention of the verb *fumu* in this instance is to imply his feet are resting on these far-flung places *as though in stirrups*, returning once more to the horse and saddle motif. The use of this verb, *fumu*, to indicate feet in the stirrups, is found in other places in *Genpei Jōsuiki* – for example, in book fifteen, at the first battle of Uji River, a warrior's footing in the stirrups is described as *abumi no*

[254] *Hyōe* [Yoritomo], *hidari Ashigawa no Yagura-dake ni shiri wo kakete, hidari no ashi ni wa Sotogahama o fumi, migi no ashi ni te wa Kikaigashima o fumi. Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:190.
[255] Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 54.

fumiyō.[256] The text's usage of this term appears to link Yoritomo's conquest of Japan with the worthy warrior conquering a wild horse. In doing so, he obtains control over Japan, dispelling its worries and troubles and instead providing its protection. Morinaga's dream ultimately foreshadows Yoritomo's 'taming' of the country, channelling its power and bringing it under his management.

Genpei Jōsuiki's careful use of the equine metaphor in this scene becomes more apparent when examining the equivalent scene in another text, the *Soga Monogatari*. Here, the dream is also related, but the phrases describing Yoritomo sitting on Yagura peak, and depicting his feet on Sotogahama and Kikaigashima, do not run together into one phrase as they do in *Genpei Jōsuiki*.[257] In *Soga Monogatari*, the metaphor of the horse and subjugation of the land of Japan through riding is not present. As this thesis has already indicated, *Genpei Jōsuiki* places particular emphasis on the role of the horse in its scene construction. With this in mind, I argue that the compiler of *Genpei Jōsuiki* intended to construct an equine allegory foreshadowing Yoritomo's rise to power as the first Shogun. In this allegory, the horse is symbolic of Japan, and Yoritomo's control over it can be interpreted both as a sign of his legitimacy as the rightful Shogun, and his ability to control Japan's power for the overall good of the realm.

The idea of Yoritomo conquering Japan through the metaphor of a warrior riding a horse can also be considered in context with other statements made within *Genpei Jōsuiki*, in which horses are triggers for negative acts. One of the most prominent is the assertion that the Genpei War began because of the 'suspicious steed' Konoshita (discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis). This horse is not under proper control, and the desire to own it explodes into a chaotic battle driven by personal ambition and individual grievances. *Genpei Jōsuiki* explicitly states its opposition to personal desire in the scene before the battle of Ishibashiyama, when Hōjō Tokimasa calls Ōba Kagechika to task for not supporting Yoritomo's cause. Tokimasa states that 'personal ambition destroys people," and that it is 'against logic'.[258] By contrast, the text later explains Yoritomo is detached from such selfish concerns, because he is 'destined to be Japan's Shōgun'.[259] It is only the will of the Emperor that will induce Yoritomo to

[256] 鐙の踏様 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:85.
[257] *Soga Monogatari*, 88:117–18.

[258] 「欲ハ身ヲ失トイエル...欲心ノ程コソ不当ナレ」 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:60.
[259] 4:123.

raise arms and declare war, as this higher level of legitimisation offers justification for violence and disruption. In these two contrasting examples are the contradictory aspects of the horse both as the root of trouble and as a defender of the people. The premonition of Yoritomo controlling the horse that is Japan promises a future in which the land is not torn apart by personal grudges and aims, but is in fact managed properly by a man who is above such concerns, and thus worthy to place his feet in the stirrups. Yoritomo is not disrupting Japan by taking it to war, but rather, subjugating it, domesticating the wild horse to the benefit of all.

Yoritomo's right to wield this kind of decisive authority is also significant. As previously mentioned in this study, the hierarchy between warriors and also with the divine is an important component in understanding the structure of the text's overriding messages. Yoritomo waits for the authority of the Emperor before making his move, but, unlike the other warriors, who respond to a general call to arms, Yoritomo will only act when the Emperor calls on him by name. This expectation of favour helps to elevate Yoritomo's status above the other warriors – it denotes him as Japan's saviour in the eyes of the throne. At times, Yoritomo's status above the other warriors can almost be seen as imperial in its own right. Makino has written about this in his study on Ikezuki and Surusumi, comparing Yoritomo's distribution of powerful horses to his retainers as mirroring the power of the throne to do likewise.[260] In utilising this parallel, the text further enhances the potential status of the Shogunate to a position almost equalling the Emperor. Yoritomo's position ultimately becomes a blueprint for later shogunal governments, whose political authority often occluded that of the crown. The importance of Yoritomo's representation as the legitimate leader of Japan allowed later governments – such as the Tokugawa family under Ieyasu, during whose incumbency the text was first printed - to use the same title of 'Shogun' in order to take complete control of Japanese political affairs. Yoritomo's depiction is less an image of the real man as it as an ideal designed to offer legitimacy to subsequent shogunal governments seeking to follow his example.

While Yoritomo is presented as a worthy warrior capable of managing a wild horse, this is not the case for all warriors – not everyone is a suitable vessel for overall power. This is shown in the story of warrior called Imajōji no Tarō Mitsuhira, in the

[260] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 180.

conflict to take Hiuchi fortress.[261] As with the story of Shigemitsu, the text here uses the actions and fate of a lesser warrior to convey its message to the reader about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, and its moral tale is constructed in conjunction with the possession of a horse. Mitsuhira's father, Mitsuakira, has an exceptionally prized steed called Ōkurige, said to be the region's wildest horse, and potentially dangerous to any who try to ride it. Only one of Mitsuakira's retainers – a man called Mitsukage - is capable of managing the beast. Mitsuhira asks his father for the horse in the upcoming battle, but his father refuses, saying that it is too dangerous, and he will likely be killed unnecessarily because he cannot control the animal. Instead, he should allow the retainer to ride it. Mitsuhira does not heed his father, arguing that if a warrior cannot use a prized horse in a key battle, when should he use it? He takes the horse without Mitsuakira's permission, and rides into the fray. To begin with, he appears to have control of Ōkurige but, in the melee, the animal becomes startled, and starts to bolt. Mitsuhira finds himself charging into the heart of the enemy encampment. He fights bravely, but his lack of control over the horse leads to him being taken from his mount, ultimately dying a 'dog's death' (*inuji*).[262] *Genpei Jōsuiki* criticises Mitsuhira's actions in not obeying his father, stating that his death is a direct consequence of this action. Unlike Yoritomo, Mitsuhira is entirely motivated by personal ambition. His preoccupation with his own glory leads to him being unfilial, and these factors combine to make him unworthy of riding Ōkurige.

An incident in the battle around Kurikara Valley, mentioned earlier in this chapter, also reinforces similar themes to the story of Mitsuhira, albeit with a slightly different outcome. Here, the warrior Nagatsuna stops back to engage the enemy, in order to allow the escape of his allies.[263] He is quickly engaged by a young warrior called Yasuie, who is only seventeen. Like Mitsuhira, Yasuie has plunged into battle without any accompanying retinue, and is soon in danger of his life. Unlike Mitsuhira, however, Yasuie survives his experience because he is rescued by his uncle, Ietaka. Where Mitsuhira's stupidity is bemoaned after his death as a waste, Yasuie is treated to a lecture by his uncle as to the appropriate way to enter battle – always with retainers, and never impulsively. Yasuie seems unwilling to learn from the lecture, however, as he

[261] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:139–41.
[262] 5:141.
[263] 5:174.

steals Nagatsuna's head from his uncle, and tries to claim the reward for slaying him.[264] Unlike Mitsuhira, who is entirely punished for his ambition, the subsequent dispute over the head leads both Yasuie and Ietaka to receive rewards. Yasuie's personal ambition is as blatant as Mitsuhira's, but it is not as personally destructive, nor does it deprive him of further honour. The difference between these two examples centres on the theft of a horse. Yasuie is not riding a stolen mount, maintains control of his momentum and, although saved by his uncle, is not overly criticised for his actions by the text. Although he endures Ietaka's lecture, the text is less critical of the theft of a head in search of reward as it is the theft of a horse which leads to the rider's demise. It is clear that stealing a horse is a much bigger misdemeanour than attempting to steal another warrior's honour, or lying to one's lord about one's military conduct.

The examples of Mitsuhira and Yoritomo's conflicting encounters with wild 'horses' construct a moral tale within *Genpei Jōsuiki* that helps to reinforce the idea of worthy and unworthy military acts, and that the common good supersedes all individual ambitions. The example of Yasuie also demonstrates that the idea of positive and negative actions is not always dictated by what initially appears to be the moral right. Mitsuhira's disobedience in ignoring his father is punished by his death, while Yasuie evades censure for his acts, although he fails to steal credit from his uncle. Both young warriors are far inferior to Yoritomo, however, whose values supersede the idea of personal gain to such a degree that he refuses to go to war even to avenge the death of his father (a clearly honourable act). He is depicted as sensible of his obligation to the Taira for his life and shows no latent grievance for Yoshitomo's death or his own exile. It is the good of the realm (in the form of the Imperial edict) that inspires him to take up arms, and it is this reason – not his own personal advancement or reputation – that makes Yoritomo the legitimate and worthy individual to ride the ultimate wild horse – Japan itself - and bring it under his control.

Equine Liminality – Mochizuki's Mice

As the discussion so far indicates, horses occupy a liminal and 'other' status within the text on several occasions, carrying with them the potential to begin wars and determine the life and death of individuals. One of the most sinister occurrences of this liminality within *Genpei Jōsuiki* can be found in the tale of a horse

[264] 5:173–75.

called Mochizuki. While not exclusive to *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the positioning and framing of the story in this version of the text adds much darker undertones compared to the *Kakuichibon*.

The appearance of a nest of mice in Mochizuki's tail is interpreted as an omen of bad things to come. It is not the only instance in the text of a horse being used in this kind of way; strong winds and distressed horses frame the furtive and subversive political plotting of the ultimately doomed Shishigatani Incident of 1177, in which several influential court figures planned to overthrow the Taira hegemony.[265] Mochizuki, however, is a rare named example. In the *Kakuichibon*, this story appears not long after the movement of the capital from Kyoto to Fukuhara (Kobe), a transition which creates much unrest, and which is ultimately short-lived.[266] The omen of the mice in Mochizuki's tail conveys the uncertainty and change of this situation, emphasising that the transfer of the capital is a bad idea. *Genpei Jōsuiki* also makes equine references around the move of the capital in the form of a poem and an ancient Chinese tale in which Fukuhara is described as a 'deer pretending to be a horse' – in other words, a lesser settlement pretending to be a capital, but not really having the legitimacy to really be seen in that light. This comparative statement implies a central and peripheral relationship being established in the text between the geographical locations of the old (Kyoto) and new (Fukuhara) capitals and their relative legitimacy. Although Kyoto has been abandoned, the move is heavily lamented, while the new capital, despite being the home of the Emperor, is never fully accepted as the seat of government power.

In using this metaphor, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is probably also condemning the legitimacy of the Ise Taira government and Kiyomori's coup that forced the capital to move.[267] This statement additionally has implications for the hierarchical status of both horse and deer, suggesting the deer is inferior, despite (or perhaps because of) its strong religious association with the family shrine of the noble Fujiwara house at Kasuga. Finally, it uses the horse as synonymous with correct and legitimate, further emphasising the significant symbolic role of this creature within *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. Although willing to use equine motifs in describing the upheaval of the capital

[265] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:112.
[266] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:365.
[267] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:168.

transition, however, *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not reference the Mochizuki omen at this point.

Genpei Jōsuiki's use of Mochizuki is far darker than simply uncertainty about the move of the capital, which is ultimately short-lived. Instead, the omen is associated directly with Kiyomori's death.[268] Kiyomori was in his sixties when he died, a significant age to reach in the Genpei context, where life expectancy was often lower. Despite this, *Genpei Jōsuiki* claims that his death is premature and unnatural, and that his life was taken early due to his evil deeds.[269] Older figures in Japanese tradition are often associated with wisdom, and this attention to Kiyomori as not being old may also be to ensure that he cannot be interpreted in this way. The text's emphasis also helps add a darker resonance to the tale of the horse and the nest of mice, that might otherwise go unnoticed. The Mochizuki omen foreshadows both that the Ise Taira will fall from power, and that Kiyomori will soon die. Despite this divination, everyone is too scared to tell Kiyomori the truth of the omen's meaning. Sure enough, Kiyomori endures a painful death from a high fever thought to have been brought on by karma from his actions in life.[270]

Both respective uses of this omen relate directly to the appearance of the mice in Mochizuki's tail, but *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes the horse equally important in the story as the mice themselves. The text uses the omen to construct a metaphor of central and peripheral status by stating that the horse symbolises the south and the invading mice, the north. If the text did not include these directional indications, the omen might be understood as depicting the Taira as the invading mice, forcing their way into positions of political significance within the court. This interpretation is certainly possible in the *Kakuichibon* version of the text, where Mochizuki is a court horse, and the omen is used in context with the move to Fukuhara and the Ise Taira's growing stranglehold on power. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, however, the animal was originally given by Ōba Kagechika to Kiyomori, making its origins eastern and warrior, not central and courtly. Mochizuki is a warrior horse from the periphery invading the court space, a motif that appears in other scenes as well. Mochizuki's subsequent association with the south, however, implies that, whatever its origins, this animal has now become a symbol of the court. Its

[268] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:53–54.
[269] 「入道今年ハ六十四ニ成給フ老死ト云ベキニハ非ズ」 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:55.
[270] 5:53–54.

ownership by Kiyomori thus demonstrates the Ise Taira family's growing control and ownership over the government and the Emperor. But, while Kiyomori's domination is apparent, his family are nominally associated with the west, not the north. Rather than being included to show increasing Heike domination over the court via the move to Fukuhara, this scene is also used in the *Jōsuiki* in conjunction with Kiyomori's sinister demise, not his rise in influence. It is necessary to look elsewhere for what constitutes 'north'.

A possible solution to this problem can be found with Minamoto (Kiso) Yoshinaka's forces, who are the first Genji warriors to reach the capital following Kiyomori's death. They are principally described in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as being warriors from the Hokuriku and the north of Japan.[271] In the same way that the mice invade the horse's tail, Yoshinaka is about to invade the capital. This interpretation also makes more sense when applied to Yoshinaka than to the other Minamoto, as his arrival in the capital is seen as something of an 'invasion' which soon makes people uneasy. The threat posed by Yoshinaka's arrival also triggers the Ise Taira's flight away from the capital, demonstrating that he is capable of actively disrupting their authority.

The negative depiction of the northern warriors as 'mice', thus vermin in need of removal, can also be explained through the building rivalry between Yoshinaka and Yoritomo, which erupts into outright conflict once Yoshinaka seizes control of the capital. While other texts (and history) records Yoshinaka being awarded the rank of Shogun before Yoritomo, *Genpei Jōsuiki* places all credit for Yoshinaka's good actions at Yoritomo's door, and proclaims Yoritomo as Shogun long before he reaches Kyoto.[272] The moment Yoshinaka becomes a rival for control of the capital, rather than a supportive Genji warrior fighting for Yoritomo's supremacy, he becomes the enemy, and thus needs to be destroyed. If the overall omen represents the defeat of the Taira, and the invasion of the mice the brash actions of Yoshinaka and his men in the capital, then the implied solution to both these problems is the advent of Yoritomo's righteous army (*gihei*), who will ultimately come to defeat both enemies, removing the 'mice' and restoring the 'horse' (the true capital of Kyoto) to its former glory. In this way, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses the Mochizuki omen in a much broader context, demonstrating not only the

[271] 5:101.
[272] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:95–96.

demise of Kiyomori (and Taira authority), but also the power struggle within the Minamoto for control of central authority that Kiyomori's death invites.

The Ritual Horse: Horses and Religious Offerings

The previous exposition of Mochizuki as an omen of things to come suggests the need to evaluate the broader religious role of the horse in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and its impact. Earlier in this thesis, I discussed how, in Japan, a tradition of equine involvement in religious ritual has been in existence since the ancient period. Horses are also involved in religious ritual in *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, albeit in different contexts. I have chosen two examples to discuss, both of which are well-known stories from the *Kakuichibon Heike*. While both involve horses in the *Kakuichibon*, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* versions of these stories contain significant differences which help us understand the underlying narrative motives of the text. The scenes in question depict the deaths of Kiyomori's grandson, Taira no Tomoakira, and the Minamoto retainer, Satō Tsugunobu, and both reflect the use of equines in the text in relation to religious observances.

The death of Tomoakira occurs in the aftermath of the battle of Ichinotani, as the Taira seek to flee by boat. Tomoakira's father, Tomomori, a senior general in the Taira army, is being pursued by the enemy. Tomoakira intervenes, and loses his life enabling his father to escape. The *Kakuichibon* scene concludes with a dialogue onboard the escape boat, in which Tomomori bemoans his guilt at the loss of his son to his sympathetic older brother, Munemori.[273] In this dialogue, Tomomori expresses his shame at his cowardice in valuing his own life over that of Tomoakira. The construction of the *Kakuichibon* scene beginning with Tomoakira's death and ending with this dialogue helps to frame this as a scene denoting personal loss and tragedy. The key themes are centred on the grief of a father who has lost a son and the fear of another (Munemori) whose son may yet be in danger. The story also features Tomomori's horse, Inoueguro, who Tomomori has to release and leave behind in order to escape. Inoueguro tries to follow the boat, but it is in vain, and he is captured by the enemy and taken to the Retired Emperor. This strain of the tale runs alongside that of Tomoakira's death, but the emphasis in the *Kakuichibon*, both in entitling the scene "The Death of Tomoakira" and in ending it with Tomomori's grief, is more on the human aspect of parting, rather than the separation of horse and master. Tomomori lets go of the horse

[273] *Heike Monogatari (2)*, 30:252–56.

but struggles to let go of his son. In this equation, the son is more valuable to him than the horse.

Although the version depicted in the *Kakuichibon* is the best-known version of the tale of Tomoakira, the structure used by this text to combine the death scene with Tomomori's expression of grief is not followed in many other variants. The *Genpei Jōsuiki*, *Engyōbon* and *Nagatobon* texts, for example, divide the death of Tomoakira and the dialogue between Tomomori and his brother into separate scenes, inserting stories of other Taira deaths in-between.[274] These texts also comment on the loyalty of Tomomori's horse (known in *Genpei Jōsuiki* simply as Inoue) more than the actions of Tomoakira. While the structure of the *Nagatobon* appears designed to highlight the loss of many young Taira, not just the tragedy of Tomoakira, the *Engyōbon* is more muted, balancing these losses alongside the actions of loyal retainers.

Of the three, *Genpei Jōsuiki's* depiction is the most complex and displays the themes of absolute loyalty and sacrifice between lord and retainer, as seen in several other accounts in the text. Tomoakira's death is remarked upon by the narrator as being sad, but filial; his sacrifice for his father will, therefore, make him remembered by later generations. Tomomori also grieves the loss of three retainers, two of which do not appear in the *Kakuichibon* or the *Nagatobon*. While *Engyōbon* mentions one of these retainers, it omits the detail *Genpei Jōsuiki* offers about the bond between Tomomori and his men. In the *Jōsuiki*, Tomomori's grief for these men is described as equal to that felt for the loss of Tomoakira. They are described as his most trusted retainers, who had had a vow to die together with their lord. These inclusions not only reinforce the duty of a loyal retainer to act in the name of the lord, but also Tomomori's failure to act according to his vow to die with his men. Tomoakira's filial act is contrasted with Tomomori's effective betrayal of his retainers by choosing to prolong his life through cowardly acts. In this context, the actions of Inoue, who Tomomori also forsakes, also appears as that of a loyal retainer making a sacrifice for his lord. Although Tomomori has betrayed his two retainers, he chooses to spare Inoue's life because it helped to save him from the enemy. Tomomori's grief at parting from Inoue, who is a beloved steed, is also described in this scene. Although he later expresses his remorse for Tomoakira's death, at the time of the incident, the only sadness that the text depicts is that he has for

[274] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:49–50; *Nagatobon*, 4:60; *Engyōbon*, 9:503.

losing his mount. Unlike the *Kakuichibon* version, the nuances and structure of this text suggest that Tomomori's grief at losing the horse is more immediate than the death of his son, giving the horse precedence.

The *Kakuichibon* text tells us that Inoueguro was originally given by the Retired Emperor, Go Shirakawa, to Munemori for services rendered to the court. Munemori subsequently gave the animal to Tomomori.[275] Following the battle, the horse falls into Yoshitsune's care, and is returned to Go Shirakawa. This scenario places Inoueguro as a central entity, for, although its origins are from outside the capital (Kawagoe or Inoue, in Shinano Province), the animal began as the property of the Imperial house, and ultimately is returned there. The loss of the horse in this context further supports the loss of influence of the Taira as they drift further from the political sphere, but this version of events is not reflected in other depictions of the tale. In these versions, the animal was always Tomomori's prized horse, and this difference reinforces another frequently featured message in *Genpei Jōsuiki* – that of a retainer not serving two masters. The *Genpei Jōsuiki* version promotes the horse, which began life in Shinano Province, and ended it at the Imperial Court. Like the Minamoto who capture it, Inoue comes from the east and enters the capital, enacting the transition from periphery to centre. In doing so, it symbolises the rise of Minamoto legitimacy in its ultimate involvement with the Retired Emperor.

Following Inoue's capture, Yoshitsune decides to make an offering to Jizō Bosatsu for the horse's life and happiness.[276] The rationale for this is not explained in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and is contradicted by the *Nagatobon*, which mentions Tomomori holding a ritual before the battle of Ichinotani, and it being this rite that allowed the horse to survive the conflict.[277] The *Nagatobon* seems to offer the more logical explanation, but *Genpei Jōsuiki* heavily emphasises at several intervals that the Taira have been abandoned by the gods and Buddhas because of their 'evil deeds' (*akugyō*). Presenting Tomomori as presiding over a successful religious rite to protect his horse's life would undermine this assertion and may offer one explanation why the text chooses Yoshitsune to carry out the ritual. The Minamoto, who are presented with deep reverence for all things religious, are often shown in *Genpei Jōsuiki* holding successful

[275] *Heike Monogatari (2)*, 30:254.
[276] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:50.
[277] *Nagatobon*, 4:60.

rites at shrines and temples, and Yoshitsune's action appears in keeping with this trend. This rite is also successful, as the text tells us that, because of Yoshitsune's prayers, Inoue lives to be forty, and even has a stable especially built at the Retired Emperor's palace. Inoue's ability to live to forty is ironic, as none of the other key warrior figures involved in this scene manage to reach that age, including Yoshitsune. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Inoue is not only more immediately precious to Tomomori than the life of his son, but its uncanny ability to evade death is divinely given thanks to the rites Yoshitsune held on its behalf. The story reinforces the importance of the horse to the warrior, but also the significance of religious intervention. Inoue is not only a loyal retainer in the military hierarchy but is ultimately blessed by the divine for his loyal service.

The fact that the *Kakuichibon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* come from different strains of *Heike* corpus text may have influenced the way the story is told, although the heavy emphasis on equine participation and on absolute loyalty in *Genpei Jōsuiki* are also relevant factors. Despite these contradictions, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* and *Kakuichibon* stories are given equal status in the modern-day memorial for Tomoakira at Myōsenji temple in Kobe (*figs 12-15*). This memorial features the story of Tomoakira's tragic death, told in the text of the *Kakuichibon*, with an illustration which is credited as coming from *Genpei Jōsuiki*. It depicts the various complex confrontations in the scene, with Tomomori fleeing on Inoue(guro) in the distance. It also features multiple horses prominently in the foreground, showing the importance of the equine involvement in the tale.

Memorial of Taira no Tomoakira, Myōsenji, Kobe[278]


源平盛衰記より
平知章 孝死之図
平家物語 巻九より
新中納言平知盛の卿は、束帯の姿
の大変美しくお出ましの御、その
御子武蔵の守知章、侍に鎧物太郎
類方、主従三騎、汀の方へ落ち給
ふ處に、こゝに兒玉党と覚しくて
團の横さしたる者ども、十騎
ばかり、駆寄り合せておしかけ
奉る。鎧物太郎は、究竟の弓の上
手なりければ、取つて返し、真先
に進んだる強者が首の骨を、ひや
うつばと射て、馬より倒に射落す。
その中の大将と覚しき者、新中納
言に、御子武蔵の守知章、父を討た
せじと、中に隔たりお蔦へども
押へて首をかき、落ち上らんとし
給ふ所に、敵の童、落ち合せて
武蔵の守をも取る。鎧物太郎
落ち重なり、武蔵の守討ち奉つた
りける敵が童をも、討ちてけり。
その後矢種のあるほど射尽し、打
物抜いて戦ひけるが、弓手の脇の
もしたいかに射させ、ひるまも上ら
て、居なから討死してけり。
（寿永三年二月七日）
扨その後新中納言知盛の卿、大盛
殿の御前におはして、「武蔵の守には
申されけるは、「敵の中に取り籠
れ後いの者、鎧物太郎を討たせ
て後へ、さればこそ、子は討たれて
ひぬ。今は心細うさまざまなり
て候へ、さればこそ、子は討たれて
給ひけり。

The Myōsenji illustration (*figs 7-10*) appears based on that from the 19th century illustrated text *Genpei Seisuiki Zue,* which also prominently features the horses in the foreground, and depicts Tomomori swimming for the boat on Inoue(guro)'s back (*fig 11*).

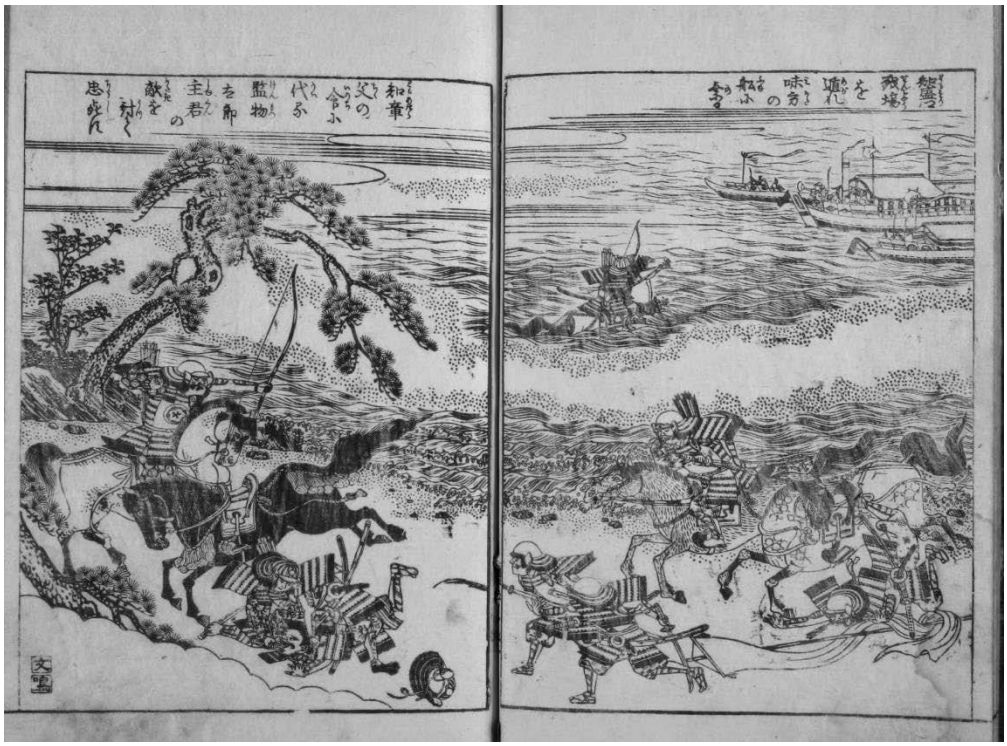


Fig 11: Illustration in Genpei Seisuiki Zue (1843) of Tomoakira's Death[279]

This representation, which clearly gives prominence to the sacrificial acts of Tomoakira and Tomomori's retainer Yorikata, reflects the values found in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as being equally important to the story. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s strong focus on Tomoakira's death as 'filial' is reflected, demonstrating the strength of these concepts even at the gravesite, where the text itself has been replaced by that of the *Kakuichibon.*

In my second chosen example, Yoshitsune makes an offering of a horse, this time on behalf of his loyal retainers. This story is also featured in other versions of the *Heike Monogatari*. The *Kakuichibon* states that, following Tsugunobu's death, Yoshitsune is grief-stricken, and so gives his horse, Tayūguro, as an offering to pray for Tsugunobu's afterlife. [280] Giving a horse as a religious offering also appears in the

[279] *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, 1843, 5:17. Image from Waseda Digital Archive. The illustrated text states 'Tomomori escapes to the boats of his allies, Tomoakira gives his life for his father, and Kenmotsu (Yorikata) loses his life fighting his lord's enemies.'.
[280] *Heike Monogatari (2)*, 30:368.

Genpei Jōsuiki scene, but in this case, it is also for the loss of another retainer at the previous battle of Ichinotani – Kamada Mitsumasa.[281] Mitsumasa is the son of Kamada Masakiyo, the loyal retainer of Yoshitsune's father, Yoshitomo, whose defeat in the Heiji Uprising of 1160 led to the death or exile of most of the Minamoto family. According to the *Heiji Monogatari*, Masakiyo fled with Yoshitomo to Owari, where both men took their own lives after they were betrayed by retainers there.[282] Masakiyo's deep loyalty to Yoshitsune's father (or at least, the stories in circulation depicting that loyalty) is reflected in Mitsumasa's death for Yoshitsune. This echoes the sense of continuity that runs throughout *Genpei Jōsuiki* regarding the hereditary relationship between lord and retainer, and the descendants of each. Mitsumasa's inclusion also allows the reader to infer a link back to the events of 1160, when the Minamoto had last been a significant political force. This is a common theme found within the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, reinforcing the sense that the Genpei War is the culmination of a struggle that began more than two decades earlier.

The horse at the centre of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* tale is also called Tayūguro, but its story is more complex. The *Kakuichibon* mentions that Yoshitsune received Tayūguro when he was appointed Fifth Rank (an appointment made by Go Shirakawa).[283] If we assume that this was the case, and that the horse was a gift from Go Shirakawa in this example, there is a parallel with the *Kakuichibon* account of Tomomori's horse, Inoue(guro), discussed above. In both cases the horse begins in the capital and ends in the hands of the eastern warriors. Again, *Genpei Jōsuiki* reverses this idea of the centre moving out to the periphery, because it denotes Tayūguro's origins as the far northern province of Ōshū.[284] In doing so, it gives a much more detailed account of Tayūguro's story, and the story behind its original name, which in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, is Usuzumi. This horse is mentioned among Yoshitsune's retinue prior to the Uji River crossing.[285]

While the *Kakuichibon* connects Tayūguro directly with the famous Hiyodorigoe descent at Ichinotani, the *Jōsuiki* is not explicit as to this point. Instead, we learn that the horse was given to Yoshitsune by the lord of the Northern Provinces, Fujiwara Hidehira. The *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon* also connect the origin of this horse

[281] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:224–25.
[282] *Hōgen Monogatari, Heiji Monogatari*, 31:259–64.
[283] *Heike Monogatari (2)*, 30:368.
[284] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:225.
[285] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:156.

to Hidehira, and this is logical, as Tsugunobu himself is a warrior originally from Ōshū.[286] The choice to offer this horse for the religious rite makes sense in this context, as both the horse and Tsugunobu share origins and loyalties to Hidehira, one of Yoshitsune's strongest benefactors. *Genpei Jōsuiki* takes this connection to the next level, as Hidehira, commenting that Yoshitsune cannot be without a horse on the battlefield, gives him this animal specifically in order to destroy the Taira. In doing so, he states that a horse is a 'warrior's treasure' which Yoshitsune cannot afford to be without.[287] This idea of the horse as invaluable to the status of a warrior is a concept repeated at other points in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. It might also be suggested that, by giving up Tayūguro as a religious offering, Yoshitsune is even foreshadowing his own demise, as his political downfall begins almost at the same time in the story.

Far from being a horse of the capital, Usuzumi cannot be more peripheral. The *Jōsuiki* explains that Yoshitsune renamed the horse Tayūguro when he was awarded the court rank of 'Tayū'. Usuzumi is descended from Abe no Sadatō's precious horse Okisumi, but Sadatō was an enemy of the court, hunted down and defeated in the Former Nine Years War by Yoshitsune's ancestors, Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie (as discussed earlier in this chapter in the analysis of the *Mutsu Waki*). By tying the horse's original pedigree to that conflict, the reader is once again reminded of the long history of the Minamoto family and their military exploits. Sadatō, however, is an outlaw, killed by the righteous forces of the court. In taking this horse, a descendent of an enemy's horse, and renaming it with the name of a court rank, Yoshitsune has legitimised it. Yoshitsune's action brings the horse from the rebel periphery into the political centre. As with Inoue(guro), who began in the east and ended up in the Emperor's stables, Usuzumi's name is replaced by a name which ties it to the system of court rankings instead. The Minamoto have once more become the 'court army', rather than the 'rebel outlaws', and, symbolic of this fact, Tayūguro has also shaken off the dubious past of its bloodline to become a sacred offering for the souls of two loyal dead retainers. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the centre is not fleeing to the periphery, but the periphery is becoming the centre.

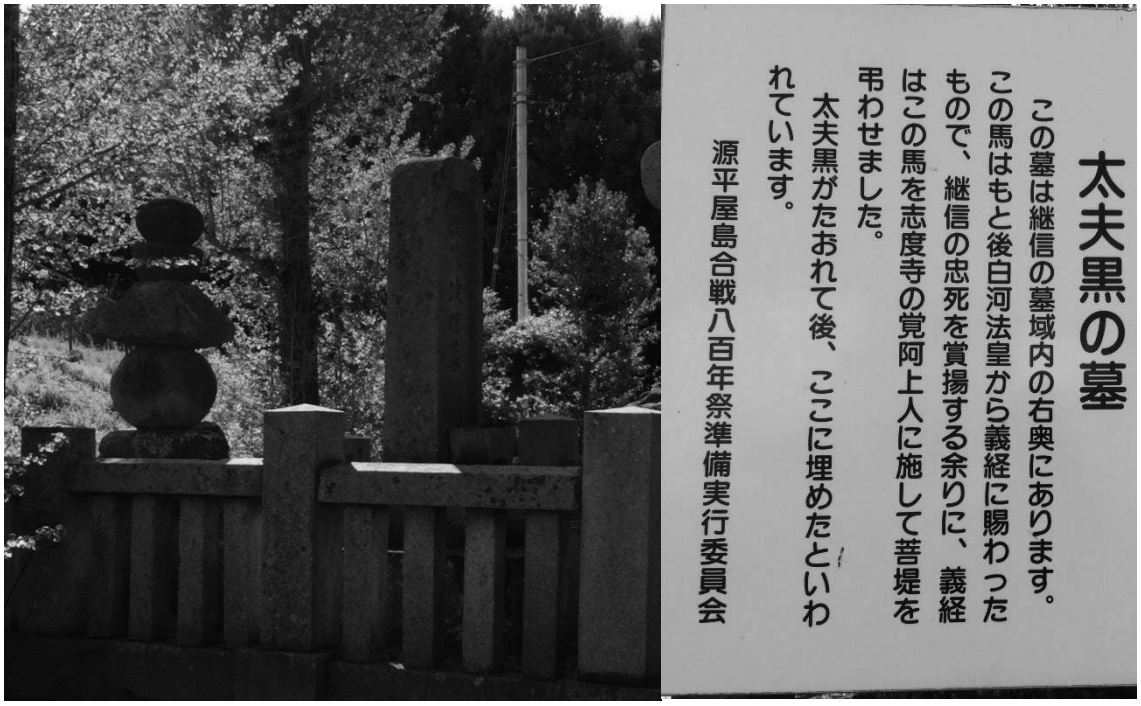
Genpei Jōsuiki offers one more twist to the role of Tayūguro in the memorial rite for Satō Tsugunobu and Kamada Mitsumasa. While the *Kakuichibon* and

[286] *Nagatobon*, 4:176, 176n.
[287] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:225.

Nagatobon refer to the giving of Tayūguro as an offering for religious rites to be performed for Tsugunobu's soul, *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that Yoshitsune gave the steed for the purpose of Tsugunobu *riding it directly* to the next world.[288] As the slaying of horses was deeply frowned upon, it seems that this assertion should be read as Yoshitsune's (or the narrator's) belief that a horse was capable of traversing the barrier between life and death, conveying Tsugunobu's soul to the life beyond. This interpretation of the event is not unique to *Genpei Jōsuiki*. The *Gikeiki*, a mediaeval chronicle of Yoshitsune's life, also describes Tsugunobu as riding Tayūguro to the next world (*yojimi*).[289] The *Kōnodai Senki*, a war chronicle of a sixteenth century conflict, additionally references the memorial rite of Tsugunobu in these terms, stating that Tayūguro circled Tsugunobu's body three times before dropping dead, becoming the warrior's steed to the underworld.[290] As has already been addressed earlier in the thesis, this use of Tayūguro in context with other texts dealing with this narrative also has implications for the likely sixteenth century provenance of *Genpei Jōsuiki* overall.

Although becoming central in terms of Minamoto legitimacy, Tayūguro has not lost the liminality of the horse and the uncanny ability to surpass normal parameters, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Instead, with the help of the divine, Yoshitsune is not only able to give the horse as an offering, but literally give it to the dead souls of his retainers in order to help on their journey towards rebirth. Tayūguro is memorialised in the city of Takamatsu today, where it is said he was buried following his death (*figs 17 and 18*). Though the account adheres more to the implied gifting of the horse to Yoshitsune by Go Shirakawa, the presence of an actual memorial for this horse and the vague reference to its death suggests that this story remains strongly in the popular consciousness, even after Tayūguro (or Usuzumi) left this world for the next. While many horses are famed in Japanese literature, few are honoured with actual marked 'memorial' sites. Tayūguro's role as a symbol of the bond between lord and master, as well as his status as a religious offering may be the reason why this horse, above many other *Heike Monogatari* steeds, has merited so much public attention, but this is a subject which requires more research beyond the remits of this thesis.

[288] 7:225.
[289] *Gikeiki*, 37:207.
[290] Thornton, "Kōnodai Senki," 343–44, 370.



Grave for Tayūguro and Tsugunobu and signage, Takamatsu (fig 12 & 13)[291]

Equine Catalysts – The Horse in the Hot Springs

The previous analyses in this section so far have discussed many different aspects of the horse's use within the *Genpei Jōsuiki*. One element mentioned in the discussion on Yoritomo's conquest of Japan is the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s statement that the Genpei War began because of a horse (*uma yue nari*).[292] This important scene will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Two, but it is not an isolated incident connecting the horse to ultimate chaos and destruction. The story of the horse in the hot springs of Yūenji temple is another example where a small incident involving an equine spirals out of control. While the Konoshita story is considered the direct trigger for the outbreak of war, the horse in the hot springs is also a trigger for the ultimate conflict, albeit in a more long-winded way.

The incident at the hot springs in Yūenji appears in most versions of the *Heike Monogatari*, including the *Kakuichibon*.[293] The reason that the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scene is significant is not because of the inclusion of this story alone, but the way in which the events of this incident are connected to subsequent decisions and actions, leading to fire, rebellion and destruction. The story begins with the representative of the Governor of

[291] Pictures E.A Woolley, 18th April 2017
[292] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:41.
[293] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:89–90.

Koga, a man called Morotsune, who decides to have his horse bathed in the hot springs at Yūenji.[294] The monks object but are told that a governing officer can do as he pleases. A scuffle ensues, in which the monks attack the horse and Morotsune's retainers, throwing them forcibly out of the temple. Morotsune, hearing this, amasses men and launches an attack on the temple, burning it to the ground. Morotsune's actions anger the temples associated with Yūenji, and monks descend on the government offices, demanding Morotsune's execution. Morotsune, in the meantime, had fled back to the capital.

Taken in isolation, this story demonstrates the problems of a warrior who reaches beyond the realms of his own authority, triggering a confrontation. In the *Kakuichibon,* it helps to reinforce the idea of individuals not respecting proper authority, but in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the incident is taken much further. While the responsibility for this act is entirely with Morotsune, he brings his whole family into further disrepute by his action. The horse and the active decision to bathe it in the hot springs demonstrates Morotsune's personal responsibility for the incident, and the events that follow. This is not an ignorant act done heedlessly but one done deliberately to insult the status of the monks by defiling their hot springs and turning it into the horse's bath. The action also demonstrates the importance of the horse to the warrior, even over the lives of other people. This idea recurs in other places in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, where it is again presented in a critical light – for example, Yoshinaka's decision to feed his horses on the crops of the peasants, even though there is a shortage of food. [295]

Genpei Jōsuiki does not end the story with Morotsune's escape to the capital. Instead, the consequences of the horse in the hot springs continue to be felt throughout the rest of book four, and across books five and six of the text. The events follow this pattern:

[294] These events continue from book 4 to book 6. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:114–47.
[295] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:127.

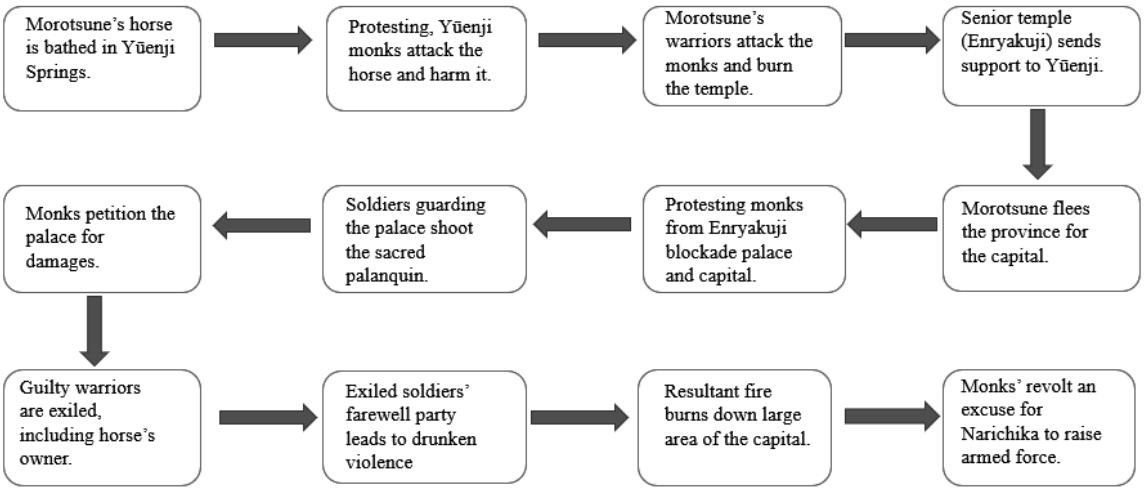


Fig 14: The escalation of violence following the horse in the hot springs (Books 4-6).[296]

Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* also mentions this fire as a historic event, but there is no indication in his account that the conflagration was caused by the above sequence of incidents, nor that it was ever connected in any way to a dispute over a horse.[297] Nonetheless, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not end its tale here, as it refers back to the incident at Yūenji in its later castigation of the actions of Morotsune's family. Morotsune is the son of Saikō, a powerful monk who has attained rank beyond his social station thanks to receiving favour at court. Saikō's resentment over the treatment of his son in this incident helps to push him towards rebellion, and the formulation of what will become known as the Shishigatani plot. His ally in this revolt, Fujiwara Narichika is also able to conceal his intent to betray the Taira by pretending to raise arms to deal with the monkish riots created by the above disturbance.[298] The Shishigatani plot, the execution of Saikō and the exile and subsequent death of Narichika all form significant factors in the descent into war in the 1170s. The decision of Morotsune to bathe his horse in the hot springs of Yūenji temple sets in motion a series of negative events which ultimately become a catalyst of the Genpei War.

Morotsune's personal responsibility in permitting an act that appears distant and unconnected from the conflict itself proves significant in the events to follow. Key to Morotsune's disgrace are also elements that the text applies to both his father, Saikō, and Narichika. Morotsune disrespects the monks and acts above his status in allowing

[296] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:114–47.
[297] *Hōjōki*, 27:28.
[298] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:83.

his retainers to bathe the horse in the hot spring. His act of revenge reinforces his belief in his own superiority. Saikō and Narichika are both pushed over the brink into rebellion by similar misconceptions about their own standing at court. Both seek higher honours or authority than that to which they are entitled. As a result, although the *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not side with the Taira, it criticises the actions of both Saikō and Narichika, as well as Morotsune and his brother, as the acts of individuals not knowing their place in the social hierarchy. Moreover, *Genpei Jōsuiki* additionally manages to use this theme to attack the Taira's rise to power directly, by having Saikō criticise Kiyomori for a similarly overreaching approach to court power.[299] Through the horse in the hot springs, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* not only invites the reader to understand the personal responsibility of individuals who act in a negative manner, but also the problems associated with individuals trying to surpass their own birth level in order to obtain higher rank. The catalyst for this rests with the decision to bathe a horse in a temple springs – a literal metaphor of something in a place where it ought not rightfully be.

Conclusion

The examples highlighted in this section of the chapter indicate that the horse appears in context with many different themes and contexts, several of which overlap. The presence of the Dismount Principle within *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests both the influence of hierarchy and of its prominence as a symbolic element of status and power transition. What the discussion on the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scenes also demonstrates, however, is a deeper complexity to these presentations than those found in the much earlier *Mutsu Waki* text. While horses do appear in *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s battle situations, they are not exclusively used in conflict. In fact, at times they form the trigger for subsequent unrest. The reinforcement of positive and negative behaviour found in these scenes is also indicative that the horse is being used within *Genpei Jōsuiki* to help demonstrate desirable or undesirable warrior activity. Shigemitsu's loyalty is praised as much as Mitsuhira's ambition is criticised, for example, although both are minor figures that have no deeper purpose in the text and will never be mentioned again.

The above discussions can be categorised into the following tentative themes for further analysis in the later chapters of my thesis:

[299] 1:175–76.

Scene	Theme
Mitsuhira and Ōkurige	Personal ambition
Yasuie and his uncle Ietaka's reward dispute	Personal ambition, Legitimacy, Personal responsibility.
Shigemitsu's suicide	Absolute loyalty to one's lord
Yoritomo's conquest of Japan	Common good/Legitimacy
Inoueguro and the death of Tomoakira	Absolute loyalty, Filial piety
The offering of Tayūguro for Tsugunobu's soul	Absolute loyalty, Equine liminality
Mochizuki and the nest of mice	Omens, Equine liminality
Morotsune and the Hot Springs	Personal responsibility, Knowing one's place

Drawing on the analysis of this section, and with attention to these identified overlapping themes, I will now identify scenes for more detailed textual analysis in Chapters Two, Three and Four. I will use a thematic approach to demonstrate how the ideas identified above are applied in these specific scenes, using these examples as an indicator for the broader text and offering new understanding of how *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses horses to present its ideas. I argue that this text not only offers a distinct approach to describing the Genpei War, but that its attitude relates more to political and historical concerns than it does artistry or performance. By producing this analysis, I hope to add to scholarly understanding of *Genpei Jōsuiki*, allowing for broader research of its content and themes beyond the scope of this thesis.

Chapter Two:

For Want of a Horse: The Matter of Konoshita and the loyalty of Kiō.

Introduction

Chapter One discussed the stories of Yasuie and Mitsuhira, their pursuits of individual ambition and glory, and the ultimate results of those exploits. As examined in that analysis, the difference between Yasuie's reckless behaviour and Mitsuhira's dash for glory centres on the theft of a horse – in this case, a wild horse which Mitsuhira was incapable of riding correctly. A more intricate example of how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents this relationship between the horse and pursuit of personal gain can be found in the story of a dispute over the ownership of a horse called Konoshita, which will form the basis of my analysis in this chapter. As with the stories of Mitsuhira and Yasuie, I argue that the story of Konoshita in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* problematises the risks of pursuing individual ambition, and the close relationship that exists between famed horses (*meiba*) and one's ultimate downfall. Just as Mitsuhira is incapable of controlling the wild Ōkurige, so Konoshita's superiority dazzles the Minamoto into making foolish and destructive battle plans. And yet, behind all of this is the wider cause of the future Minamoto Shogun, Yoritomo, whose lack of personal ambition is highlighted more emphatically in this variant by the failings of his kinsfolk.

A detailed examination of the role of the horses Konoshita, Nanryō, Tōyama and Kokasuge, and the actions of the humans Nakatsuna, Munemori, Yorimasa and Kiō, will demonstrate how this tale, credited as the catalyst for the whole Genpei War, helps to construct a larger moral framework within this text. I argue that, unlike other *Heike* texts, which privilege human relations and present the Konoshita dispute largely as a justification for the start of the Genpei War, the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, while condemning the Taira hegemony, uses the story to criticise acts of personal ambition, even those perpetuated by the Minamoto. By manipulating ideas of status and loyalty, the text also allows a distinction to be made between Yorimasa's failed rebellion and the ultimate cause of Yoritomo, which is presented as being for the common good, while maintaining the core value that a warrior, no matter what the situation, should only ever serve one lord. This analysis will contribute to scholarly understanding of how *Genpei Jōsuiki* frames the outbreak of the Genpei War, and how it uses horses to convey these broader textual ideas.

A discussion of the story of Konoshita, and the complementary story of Kiō, must begin with the historical provenance of the tale. Despite the lack of historical evidence for the dispute, this story has been pivotal through different eras, emerging at times of political change to underpin ideas of legitimacy and power transference. *Genpei Jōsuiki* claims Konoshita was 'the exceptional equine of [its] age'.[300] This chapter builds on the belief that this 'suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven' may be the most important horse of the Genpei War – even though he never actually existed.[301]

Section I: For Want of a Horse: A (Hi)Story in Transition

In the fifth month of Jishō 4 (1180), a disgruntled Prince of the Realm, Mochihito, launched an ill-fated attempt to overthrow the dominant Taira family at court and claim the throne for himself. Supporting him in the shadows were the Novice of Third Rank, Minamoto no Yorimasa and his family, and the subsequent battle of Uji Bridge is popularly considered the first battle of the Genpei War. Although a disastrous defeat, the alleged edict issued by Mochihito to summon military support has long since been framed as the rallying cry legitimising the Minamoto's military assault on the Taira government. Nowhere does this edict have stronger resonance than in the various versions of the *Heike Monogatari*, where it is accompanied by a strange tale of a dispute between warriors over the ownership of a horse.

The story sees Yorimasa's son, Nakatsuna, receiving a valuable horse from the provinces, which he names Konoshita. The Taira heir, Munemori, asks to see this horse, but Nakatsuna lies and tells him that he has sent the horse away. Munemori, when he discovers the deception, is more insistent than ever about seeing the horse, and Yorimasa steps in, making his son give Konoshita up. Munemori, insulted by Nakatsuna's reticence, renames the horse 'Nakatsuna', making its former owner the butt of jokes. Nakatsuna, hearing this, complains to Yorimasa, who enlists the support of a disaffected prince excluded from the succession, the thirty-year old Mochihito. Together, they mount an uprising which, though unsuccessful, triggers the movement of Minamoto in the provinces and ultimately leads to the overthrow of the Taira family. According to the *Heike* corpus, Konoshita is the horse that caused the Genpei War. In most versions of the *Heike Monogatari*, including the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, this tale is

[300] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:45–46.
[301] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:45.

accompanied by a complementary story about Watanabe Kiō, a loyal retainer of Yorimasa's, who tricks Munemori into giving him a horse, then takes it to Nakatsuna, who brands it and cuts its hair before sending it back to Munemori as a gesture of retaliation.

Academics are quick to point out that there is nothing in the surviving records of the Genpei period to suggest the Konoshita dispute ever took place. Kusaka Tsutomu, for example, states that, "the horse incident isn't true. It doesn't matter if it's a lie."[302] For Kusaka, the scene is a literary device designed to create a particular impression on the audience, and its historical accuracy is not important. Vyjayanthi Selinger supports Kusaka's view, for although she titles her argument "The Horse that Sparked the Genpei War", she openly states that, in a historical sense, the idea of such a scene causing a war is 'improbable', before moving towards a more literary and symbolic analysis of the events.[303] Other scholars, such as Saeki Shin'ichi and Elizabeth Oyler, demonstrate the scepticism with which this scene is historically viewed by omitting mention of it from their assessments of the start of the Genpei War.[304] Part of the reason why establishing a historical pathway for the Konoshita story is not a focus for scholars may stem from the transitional status of the *Heike* corpus in the early Meiji period (1868-1912). With the Imperial Restoration and the vast influx of western cultural ideas, the concept of 'history' was radically reconstructed, as David Bialock has pointed out. Political changes and new attitudes to defining genres played a part in reclassifying the *Heike* corpus as Japanese national literature, rather than historical record.[305] The prominence of the performance *Kakuichibon* text, which was lauded for its artistry and literary value also meant that, as the twentieth century progressed, and scholarly attention turned to transforming this version of *Heike* into an 'epic', there was a decline of interest in the more cluttered written variants, such as the *Genpei Jōsuiki,* which privileges information over art.[306] This is particularly true in the post-war era, where the *Kakuichibon* text remains the best-known variant, and is still the only version to have been translated into English.

[302] Kusaka, *Heike Monogatari Tendoku*, 79.
[303] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 151.
[304] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 33; Oyler, *Swords, Oaths, and Prophetic Visions*, 6, 161n.
[305] Bialock, "Nation and Epic: The Tale of the Heike as Modern Classic," 168–69.
[306] Bialock, 171–77.

Ultimately, Kusaka's assertion that the truth of the scene does not matter in the bigger picture of the story is correct. This does not mean, however, that the scene has no value historically. While it can tell us nothing about the real events that led up to the Genpei War, it can offer us an insight into the societies that thought to create and promulgate it. Moreover, its inclusion in all *Heike* variants, as well as some later histories (discussed in the next sub-section) demonstrate that the truth of the story was less important than the relevance ascribed it across subsequent centuries. By assessing this context, it is possible to draw a hypothesis on the motive behind its creation, and the rationales that underpin the different variations of the tale. I will now address why this story, despite its fictional status, is still relevant to understanding the key themes surrounding the start of the Genpei War.

Filling History's Gaps: Legitimisation through Storytelling.

Far from being a single story woven into a performance text to entertain the masses, the various tales of Konoshita the horse extend from the *Heike Monogatari* through drama adaptations into the late Edo Period (1600-1868).[307] It is also cited in at least one nineteenth century history, the *Kokushiryaku*. When describing the start of the Genpei War, this text states:

> Jōkai's[308] son Munemori committed the greatest act of arrogant violence. Yorimasa's oldest son, Nakatsuna, was possessed of a fine horse which was known as Konoshita. Munemori forcibly stole away the horse, shearing off its mane and tail and branding it on the forehead, calling it "Nakatsuna." Every time he had a visitor, Munemori had the horse led around the gardens and whipped, mocking it. Because of this, Yorimasa became angry.[309]

This brief summary of the Konoshita tale uses the story in a pro-Imperial light. Yorimasa's family, who sympathise with an Imperial figure, are presented as the victims, whilst Munemori's Taira, who represent military governance, appear as villains and tyrants. This text was in print up to and beyond the Meiji Restoration - a time when Imperial sympathies were particularly strong - demonstrating how this story was still being used in the nineteenth century to validate shifts in political power.

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[307] For example, the kabuki play *Yorimasa Tuizen no Shiba*.and the Nō plays *Fukui Takiguchi*, Konoshita, *Nakatsuna* and *Genzai Yorimasa*. Some of these plays are mentioned in Oyler and Watson, *Like Clouds or Mists*, 491.
[308] 浄海, Kiyomori's religious name.
[309] *Kokushiryaku*, 3:41.

Konoshita also appears on a pre-war postcard, probably printed in the 1930s, where he is both branded and tethered. The image of the tethered horse often featured on late eighteenth century votive tablets, or *ema*. While it is unclear whether there is any direct connection with the religious imagery, the theme of the tethered horse also forms the basis for an eighteenth century Chikamatsu play, *Kanhasshū Tsunagi Uma* (The Tethered Horse). In this play, the image of a tethered horse on an old banner is associated with the rebellion of the tenth century eastern warrior, Masakado, but the theme of being tethered, or 'entangled' also features throughout the play through the acts of various individuals who, bound by complex problems of duty and obligation, are forced into taking actions and making sacrifices in order to uphold the honour of the wider Minamoto family name.[310] While it would be too much of an assumption to suggest that Konoshita's depiction here was in any way intended to mirror that imagery, it must not be forgotten that the cult of the Emperor and the importance of Shintoism in the lead up to the Pacific War was a pivotal part of pro-nationalist propaganda, and that the motif of self-sacrifice for the wider cause was prominently presented throughout the conflict. It is equally possible, however, that the card merely depicts a popular and well-known story, circulated due to its association with legitimising and triggering military action. Konoshita's story also makes an appearance in the propagandistic 1942 text, the *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*, an abridged compilation of Genpei war exploits designed to inspire the youth of Japan to look back to the great deeds of their warrior antecedents. Here, the text criticises Munemori as a horse thief, sympathising strongly with Nakatsuna and his family in the manner of the *Kokushiryaku* before it.[311] The emergence of this story at times of political upheaval seems unlikely to be a coincidence. Konoshita is not only the horse that caused the Genpei War, but its image and its story continue to resonate through other conflicts and uncertainties, appearing whenever there is a need to legitimise a political cause or ideal.

Historians like Nagai Susumu have wrestled with the elusive historical details of Mochihito's rebellion, and Yorimasa's motivation for taking part.[312] While this is an interesting inquiry, more significant to this study is the way in which the *Heike* corpus uses these knowledge gaps to construct and reinforce its own version of events. This is particularly true in how the Konoshita incident is directly linked to the issuing of

[310] Chikamatsu and Gerstle, *Chikamatsu*, 325–427.
[311] *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*, 88–89.
[312] Nagai, *Minamoto no Yorimasa to Kiso Yoshinaka*, 84.

Mochihito's edict – a document whose existence is also difficult to prove from historical records. The earliest mention of Mochihito having allegedly issued an edict can be found in the *Gyokuyō* court diary, in an entry dated a full six months after Mochihito's defeat. Writing of the rumour in the Eleventh Month of 1180, the author, nobleman Fujiwara Kujō Kanezane, expresses his scepticism that it could be true.[313] The earliest detailed description of the edict's contents appears a hundred years after the Genpei War, in the *Azuma Kagami*: a shogunal chronicle in which the Kamakura shogunate used the edict to underpin the legitimacy of its rule. The *Azuma Kagami*'s timeline is highly questionable, however – not least the claim that Yoritomo's army attached the edict to their banners during the defeat of Ishibashiyama.[314] In fact, court reaction to Yoritomo's first military outing is hugely negative, with the *Gyokuyō* in particular describing Yoritomo in scathing terms as a rebellious barbarian (*muhon no zoku*) comparable to his father (condemned as a traitor in 1160), and also draws parallels between Yoritomo's behaviour and the uprising of the aforementioned rebel, Masakado.[315] Had such an edict been displayed during this battle, it would have been unlikely that it would not have been reported back to the capital. The lack of mention in the *Gyokuyō* strongly implies no such edict was in Yoritomo's possession in the first nine months of 1180. This overwhelmingly critical response stands at odds with the 'righteous army' described in the *Azuma Kagami*, and also makes problematic the wider assertions of *Heike Monogatari* texts that the Minamoto cause had Imperial support and was destined to succeed while the Taira were doomed to fail.[316] From this, it is possible to hypothesise that it was more important in later centuries to legitimise with hindsight the supremacy of the Minamoto, on whose achievements subsequent military governments were founded. The *Heike* corpus texts, including *Genpei Jōsuiki*, appear part of this process of constructing a narrative which presented Minamoto military action in a more positive light.

The ahistoricity of Mochihito's edict also cast doubts on the political connection between Yorimasa and Yoritomo in the time leading up to the start of the Genpei War. Although Yorimasa's rebellion happened in the fifth month of 1180, Yoritomo's rebellious behaviour is still castigated as illegitimate by Kanezane in the ninth month of

[313] *Kundoku Gyokuyō*, 4:333.
[314] *Azuma Kagami*, 1:27.
[315] *Kundoku Gyokuyō*, 4:320.
[316] *Azuma Kagami*, 1:14.

the same year – after Ishibashiyama. Even if Mochihito had written an edict for Yorimasa, this disconnect indicates that Yorimasa's rebellion, and Yoritomo's subsequent one, were likely not related. *Azuma Kagami*'s questionable timeline also supports this, indicating that Yoritomo initiated local squabbles, but did nothing in support of Yorimasa between his alleged receipt of the edict and the battle of Uji Bridge.[317] Despite the apparent lack of connection between their two causes, *Genpei Jōsuiki* goes to particular lengths to not only associate Yoritomo with Yorimasa's revolt, but to also give special privilege to Yoritomo, stating that he receives a particular, named edict commanding him directly to rise and overthrow the Taira. The *Heike* corpus texts all use the Konoshita scene to connect Yorimasa's branch of the Minamoto with slights suffered by the Genji overall. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, however, places particular emphasis on legitimacy in its narrative. For this reason, establishing that Yoritomo has *the right to rebel* is paramount to the compilers of this text. References in most *Heike* texts to additional, fictional edicts add legitimacy to Yoritomo's cause during the war, but it is *Genpei Jōsuiki* – the text which privileges Yoritomo's cause as its main theme – which puts the most emphasis on these fictional edicts, even to the point of contradiction.[318] Of these, the most prominently cited is Mochihito's, even long after the prince has died. The importance of edicts in constructing ideas of legitimacy in this text is clear, as *Genpei Jōsuiki* also undermines the validity of the (genuine) edicts given to the Taira to hunt down Genji forces.[319] In spite of its inconsistencies, *Genpei Jōsuiki* returns frequently to Mochihito as a legitimising and unifying figure, even going so far as having his son suggested as the next Emperor, because the Minamoto are all fighting in Mochihito's name.[320] As with most *Heike* variants, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is largely sympathetic to Mochihito, but unlike some other texts, and in spite of telling stories of his illustrious past, it shows little regard for Yorimasa and his family following the Uji defeat. Instead, the text uses the story as a moral tale, reminding readers that Yorimasa

[317] 1:13–17.
[318] In Book 13, Mochihito's edict is conveyed to Yoritomo, along with a special letter compelling Yoritomo by name to take up arms. In Book 20, at Ishibashiyama, Yoritomo claims that although Mochihito is dead, he now has an edict from Go Shirakawa. Tokimasa also claims the edict is from Go Shirakawa. Yet in Book 27, in a long letter explaining the validity of the Genji cause, Yoritomo's uncle, Yukiie, returns to the Mochihito edict as the root of their cause. The assertion about the edict at Ishibashiyama also contradicts the *Azuma Kagami* mentioned earlier. *Genpei Jōsuiki* 3:23; *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:46, 59, 123; *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:86.
[319] For example, in book 23, when Kiyomori and Munemori threaten to abandon Emperor Takakura on an island if he doesn't write them an edict to hunt down Yoritomo. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:132.
[320] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:64.

caused the 'unrest of the world and the grief of the people' for petty reasons of personal gain, and thus was deserving of his fate.[321] This negative portrayal of Yorimasa – the only individual who could genuinely have had an edict from Mochihito – helps to clear the way for Yoritomo (a more righteous individual who refuses to rebel unless he has a specific, named, imperial command to do so) to take over the reins of leadership and bring the Seiwa Minamoto back to prominence. Yorimasa's downfall over a horse helps towards creating the impression of Yoritomo as the destined future leader (and saviour) of Japan.

Tales like that of Konoshita can also influence the views of people in later societies, even our own, regardless of their lack of authenticity. By filling the gaps left by history, these texts encouraged people not to ask questions by providing pre-prepared answers about how events came about. In spite of being classed as literature in the post-Meiji period, the *Heike* corpus continues to influence views and accounts, such as that of Kawai Atsushi, who discusses the Konoshita scene as a historical event, using the *Heike Monogatari* as supporting evidence.[322] Although he does not claim it to be true, Takahashi Masaaki also utilises this scene in his overall presentation of Munemori as an unsuitable leader, stating:

> ...the beginning of the downfall of the Heike is presented in the *Heike Monogatari* as a string of events that began when Munemori, symbolising the evil side of the family, took the beloved horse of Minamoto no Nakatsuna…by force and by doing so humiliated his father….Yorimasa…Yorimasa, in turn, instigated Prince Mochihito…to conspire against the Heike, which led to the outbreak of the Genpei War.[323] (translation : Okawa Eiji).

While Takahashi discusses the historicity of many of the *Heike* examples he cites, he does not challenge this one. Although falling short of claiming the story to be true, Takahashi does not identify it as fictional. His use of the story to strengthen the negative perception of Munemori as a failed Taira leader (thus explaining the Taira downfall) demonstrates how *Heike* accounts are still being used to reinforce popular opinion and interpretation of Genpei War figures – even in modern times. The truth of the story is, as Kusaka states, not relevant in comparison to what people ultimately believe took place. The line between fiction and historical 'fact' becomes blurred.

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[321] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:117.
[322] Kawai, *Go-Shirakawa Hōō*, 150.
[323] Takahashi, "Fact and Fiction in the Heike Monogatari," 128.

To examine the Konoshita story in the context of the time in which it was created, we need to move beyond the Genpei period and into the fourteenth century. Believed to have been written in the early Nanbokuchō period (1336-92), the *Hōryakukanki* appears to provide the earliest validation of the horse dispute as a historical event. It states:

> The reason that the Novice of Third Rank, Yorimasa thought about doing this [raising a rebellion] was on account of a dispute between his son, Nakatsuna, the Governor of Izu Province, and Lord Munemori, which is said to have been over a horse called Konoshita.[324]

What is particularly telling about the text in the *Hōryakukanki* is the structure of the above sentence in Japanese:

「此三位入道此事ゾ思立ケル事ハ子息伊豆守中綱ト宗盛公ト木ノ下ト云馬故トゾ聞コエシ」[325]

Although there are differences in the chosen vocabulary used, this excerpt resembles the opening sentence of the Konoshita scene in the *Engyōbon*, a variant of the *Heike Monogatari* considered by many scholars to be the earliest surviving *Heike* text. Both the opening phrase of this scene in the *Engyōbon* and the account in the *Hōryakukanki* end with the distinctive clause '*…uma yue to zo kikoeshi'*. This exact parallel is an unlikely coincidence, although it is not clear which text evolved first. Unlike all other versions of the *Heike*, the *Engyōbon* includes the Konoshita scene much later in the text than the story of Kiō, referencing their connection almost as an afterthought.[326] The possibility that the Konoshita story was inserted into the *Engyōbon* at a later date cannot be ruled out. Whichever text came first, the lack of reference to this story in thirteenth century texts such as *Azuma Kagami*, *Gukanshō* and *Rokudai Shōjiki* demonstrates the strong likelihood that it was an invention of the fourteenth century. By the 1370s, when the well-known performance text, the *Kakuichibon Heike* was in circulation, the story had become permanently consolidated into the tale of the Genpei War's beginning.

The fourteenth century was a time of ongoing political change, and the Nanbokuchō period marked the uncertainty of a split court, two opposing Emperors and

[324] *Hōryakukanki*, 1:12. This edition is a reprint, circa 1600.
[325] *Hōryakukanki*, 1:12.
[326] *Engyōbon*, 4:148–51, 440–45.

frequent outbreaks of fighting interspersed with spells of uneasy peace. Having overthrown the Kamakura shogunate in 1333 and deposed Emperor Go Daigo in 1336, legitimisation was a priority for the newly established Minamoto Ashikaga government. At this time, their own position was tentative, and their justification for rule based largely on the precedent of Yoritomo's establishment of the original shogunate in 1185. It seems logical to assume that the story of Mochihito's edict and the rebellion was bolstered in this time period by a horse dispute in order to strengthen the event and portray the Minamoto cause as being in the right. The tale of Yorimasa being forced into revolt by the tyrannical behaviour of his Taira overlords may also have resonated more clearly with disgruntled Ashikaga supporters fed up with making obeisance to the Taira Hōjō, the lords of the former Kamakura shogunate who had taken control of government following the death of Yoritomo's second son in 1219. As demonstrated in Chapter One with the *Mutsu Waki*, the use of a horse to convey bigger and more complicated ideas was a familiar War Tale device. As Thomas Conlan has pointed out, the value of the horse in the fourteenth century may well have made an ownership dispute appear a realistic motive for contemporaries.[327] What can be said for certain is that the majority of *Heike* variants – and all of those which can be clearly dated to the fourteenth century - use this scene as a platform to highlight the unreasonable behaviour of the Taira, and the wretched position of the Minamoto under their rule. By using the participants of the twelfth century Taira and Minamoto dispute as avatars, the Ashikaga could establish a position from which they could justify their overthrow of Hōjō authority as a necessary evil and condemn those who continued to oppose them. The Ashikaga were patrons of the *Heike Monogatari*, and heard it performed, in particular at the accession of a new Shogun.[328] It is unsurprising that the text's content should resonate with a point of view beneficial to their authority.

Given the importance of this story in many historical contexts, it is natural to find the tale of Konoshita is a key element of all *Heike* texts, with most also including the story of Kiō as well. It is also not surprising to consider that the entire story is featured prominently in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, albeit spread over four sections, rather than compiled into one. And yet, in many ways, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* version of the story does not fit the mould of most of the other versions. Most texts centre on Munemori as the

[327] Conlan, *State of War*, 68.
[328] Ruch, "Akashi No Kakuichi"; Thornton, "Kōnodai Senki," 320–21.

villain of the piece, but *Genpei Jōsuiki* – despite being more critical overall of Munemori – does not follow this pattern. Many variants depict Yorimasa as having been forced into rebellion by Taira despotism, yet *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not take this approach. Whereas other texts prioritise the actions of human participants, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is alone in placing such heavy emphasis on the involvement of the horse. These differences demonstrate that an in-depth evaluation of this scene is necessary to expose the intent of this text, and the message it wanted to convey to its audiences. This also has resonance with the ideas explored earlier in the thesis, relating to *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s production date. While fourteenth century versions of the *Heike* corpus appear to use the scene to justify the Ashikaga rise to power, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is critical of warriors using personal gain as a reason to go to war. This reflects more strongly the problems faced by leaders at the end of the sixteenth century, when attempts were being made to re-unify Japan.

The Horse that Caused the Genpei War

Horses are integral to this story in all versions, but especially so in *Genpei Jōsuiki.* The following table indicates the difference in quantity of named equines included in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scene compared to other texts:

Name of Text	**Nakatsuna's Prized Horse**	**Horse given in exchange for Konoshita**	**Horse(s) taken by Kiō**	**Horse sent back to Kyō**
Kakuichibon	Konoshita	---	Nanryō	Nanryō
Nagatobon	Konoshita	---	Konoshita	Nanryō
Genpei Jōsuiki	Konoshita	Nanryō	Kokasuge, Tōyama	Kokasuge
Engyōbon	Konoshita	----	Tōyama	Tōyama
Amakusabon	Konoshita (Conoxita)	----	Nanryō (Nanrio)	Nanryō (Nanrio)

fig 15: Named horses involved in the Konoshita and Kiō disputes by text.

The name of the horse taken by Kiō varies between texts, but it is clear that at least one additional named horse – Kokasuge - is included in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* version of the tale. While an unnamed black horse, given by Shigemori to Nakatsuna, is also included in several *Heike* variants, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* adds eleven other unnamed horses not present in other texts. These appear through the use of Chinese anecdotes, the inclusion of which are designed to reinforce moral messages. Four segments make up the Konoshita dispute in this text. Across these sections, *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents its

audience with fifteen horses whose presence helps to mould the overall direction of the story.

*Genpei Jōsuiki'*s emphasis on the role of the horse is not limited to the quantity of equines included in the text. On the contrary, while other versions, typified by the *Kakuichibon,* construct a negative attitude towards Munemori from the very start of the scene, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* places blame for the dispute squarely on the horse itself. This assertion is unusual, as can be seen by the following comparison between opening sections of the story in these same five variant *Heike* texts. Alongside the familiar performance text, the *Kakuichibon,* and the *Genpei Jōsuiki,* I have included in this comparison the *Engyōbon,* previously mentioned as an early surviving variant, as well as two other texts. These are the *Nagatobon,* a text of unknown (but probably mediaeval) date considered to be closely related to both the *Engyōbon* and the *Genpei Jōsuiki,* and the *Amakusabon*. This last text, also known as the *Feiqe Monogatari*, is an unusual document printed in 1593 by the Jesuit printing press in Amakusa. Designed as a language aid for the Jesuits working in Japan, it is a colloquial sixteenth century reworking of key scenes and stories from the *Heike Monogatari*. In the preface, it is said to be based on a text from 1350, composed at Hieizan by a monk called Gen'e.[329] This base text no longer survives, but there are strong similarities between the version of the story told in the *Amakusabon,* and that in *Kakuichibon,* suggesting that this 1350 text was probably quite similar to the *Kakuichibon* that survives today. Because the *Amakusabon* is printed in a form of romanised Japanese with Portuguese pronunciation, I have romanised the Japanese script from the other openings in order to make a more direct visual comparison. The openings are as follows:

[329] Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan. 1591-1610.*, 16.

Text	Japanese (romanised)	English
Kakuichibon	*Somosomo, Minamoto San'i Nyūdō, toshigoro higoro mo areba koso arikeme, kotoshi ikanaru kokoro nite muhon o ba okoshikeru zo to iu ni, Heike no jinan,* ***saki no Udaishō Munemori-kyō, sumajiki koto wo shitamawari***.[330]	The reason why the Minamoto Novice of Third Rank, who for so many days and years had lived with things as they were, decided that this year he would raise a rebellion, was **on account of the shameful behaviour of the second son of the Heike**, the former Major Captain of the Right, Lord **Munemori**.
Amakusabon	*"Fatemo, Nenrei figoro mo areba cofo atta ni: Sanmi Nyŭdŏ cotoxi nantaru cocoro ga tçuite muhon uoba uocofareta zoto yŭ ni,* ***Munemori fuxigi na coto uo xerareta yue gia****."*[331]	In any case, after living for so long with things the way they were, the reason that the Novice of Third Rank decided in this year to raise a rebellion was **on account of the unpleasant behaviour of Munemori."**
Engyōbon	*Somosomo, kondo no muhon o tazunereba,* ***uma yue to zo kikoeshi***. [332]	In the first instance, when one asks about this rebellion, **one hears that it was on account of a horse.**
Nagatobon	*Somosomo, Minamoto San'I Nyūdō, kakaru ashiki koto o Miya ni susumemoushitatematsuru koto wa****, chakushi Izu no Kami Nakatsuna, urami fukaki koto arikeri***[333]	The reason why the Minamoto Novice of Third Rank recommended such wicked ideas to the Prince was originally **because his eldest son, the Governor of Izu [Nakatsuna], had a deep grievance.**
Genpei Jōsuiki	*Somosomo, Minamoto San'I Nyūdō Yorimasa no kakaru akuji/ashiki koto o Miya ni moushisusumetatematsuru koto wa,* ***uma yue nari***.[334]	The reason Yorimasa, the Novice of the Third Rank conveyed such wicked ideas to the Prince was, originally, **on account of a horse.**

fig 16: Opening phrases of Heike variants: Comparison.

The apportioning of blame in these openings is clearly very different between versions. The *Kakuichibon* and the *Amakusabon* both clearly present Munemori as the antagonist, although the *Kakuichibon*'s wording is subtly stronger, calling his actions shameful (*susumajiki*) rather than unpleasant (*fuxigi*). This approach contrasts with the more sympathetic portrayal of Yorimasa as a conflicted man who, after many years enduring hardship, has finally been forced to act. Both the *Kakuichibon* and the *Amakusabon*

[330] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:299.
[331] *Feiqe Monogatari*, 115.
[332] *Engyōbon*, 4:440–45.
[333] *Nagatobon*, 2:89.
[334] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:41.

prepare the reader to view Yorimasa's rebellion as justified, whilst Munemori's behaviour is made strange, peripheral and unwelcome. The reader is not encouraged to identify with Munemori, whose reasons are not given in this opening. Instead, they are expected to accept that Yorimasa's actions had just cause.

The *Nagatobon*, while not addressing directly Munemori's responsibility in the opening, also focuses its attention on the feelings of the human participants, in this case, the grievance of Yorimasa's son Nakatsuna. By stating the existence of a grievance, the *Nagatobon* also invites the reader to sympathise with the Minamoto cause. Only the *Engyōbon* agrees with *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s claim that the dispute occurred because of a horse, but it is much less definite in its assertion, merely stating that this is what the compilers had heard, rather than what they knew as fact. It is the briefest summary of the scene to follow, failing to mention any of the key participants. As has already been discussed, it is possible that this section was not only inserted as an afterthought, but also influenced by circulating historical texts of the fourteenth century. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, by comparison, directly blames Konoshita in the opening sentences, continuing to emphasise the horse's guilt later in the scene.

The details of this allegation will be explored later in this chapter, but it is notable that only *Genpei Jōsuiki* includes in its opening statement the name of Yorimasa, the commission of evil acts (*akugyō* 悪事) and the role of the horse in that occurrence. As mentioned in my thesis introduction, my definition of misconduct in the context of this thesis is behaviour that is criticised by the text. *Genpei Jōsuiki* closes the previous section with Mochihito's pitiful escape, placing it as a backdrop for its criticism of Yorimasa in the opening statement of the Konoshita dispute.[335] The approach reinforces the statement of 'wicked ideas', but extends the concept into 'wicked deeds', because Yorimasa is shown promoting his own interests, at the expense of supporting the Prince. The damning statement that, despite his bold words, Yorimasa did not come, and nor did the provincial Genji, is juxtaposed with the presentation of the Prince in a state of uncertainty and terror. This implies a level of betrayal of Mochihito that exaggerates the Prince as the victim and Yorimasa and Nakatsuna as instigators and antagonists.[336] This stands at odds with most other versions, which

[335] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:38.
[336] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:46.

attempt to present Yorimasa and his son as victims of tyranny, rather than villains exploiting Mochihito for their own ends.

Figure 21 demonstrates that *Genpei Jōsuiki* places a significant level of emphasis on the horse's role in instigating the Konoshita dispute. As mentioned in Chapter One, many of the key themes of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* can be found in association with scenes including horses. These concepts are demonstrated most potently in the Konoshita tale via the representation of hierarchy, the legitimacy of actions, including those related to personal gain, and the resolve that a good retainer serves only one master.

Despite the obvious variations contained in this version of the text, there has been little scholarly attention given to the *Genpei Jōsuiki* rendition of the Konoshita dispute. One such analysis is contained in the work of Nakamoto Akane, who compares and contrasts the presentation of Munemori in several different variants. Nakamoto's analysis, while thorough, does not address the significance of the horses in the scene, nor the role of Nakatsuna in its construction.[337] Selinger is one of the only scholars to look at the horse in context with the story, suggesting the Konoshita conflict is a means of reinterpreting a dangerous political incident as a minor dispute. In doing so, the text separates this skirmish from the greater and nobler cause of the future Shogun, Yoritomo.[338] In Chapter One, my analysis of the *Mutsu Waki* demonstrated how this text also uses a series of mounted disputes to tell the story of a bigger and more complicated nine-year conflict, and in this context, Selinger's argument also makes sense. Selinger's hypothesis focuses on the transition between scenes of conflict and artistic performance, highlighting the ceremonial role of Takiguchi warriors such as Kiō, who were known for turning military pursuits into art.[339] Selinger's argument is original and interesting, but appears to be heavily influenced by the *Kakuichibon* version of the *Heike Monogatari,* where artistry is especially prized. Her work references events that do not occur in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, such as Kiō's theft of the horse Nanryō, and omits mention of the horses Tōyama and Kokasuge completely. Selinger's account also suggests that Kiō is called on to rescue Shigemori from the snake.[340] In fact, it is Nakatsuna who does this, receiving an unnamed black horse as a reward. Kiō is mentioned briefly in the

[337] Nakamoto, 'Kakuichibon "Heike Monogatari" ni okeru Taira no Munemori-zō', 73.
[338] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate,* 152.
[339] Selinger, 153.
[340] Selinger, 153.

Kakuichibon version of the scene, where he disposes of the snake after Nakatsuna removes it from the palace, but in *Genpei Jōsuiki, Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon*, this is carried out by a different member of the Watanabe family, Habuku.[341] Selinger's confusion about Kiō's role in different textual variants weakens her argument that his presence helps to transform dangerous warfare into a form of controlled, artistic performance. Despite these omissions, Selinger's observations about the separation of Yoritomo's aims from the more self-interested ones of Yorimasa and family is astute. This thesis will build on this premise, examining how *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses the horses in this scene to present ideas of personal ambition within the wider framework of the bigger Genji cause.

The most relevant approach to looking at this scene has been attempted by Harada Atsushi. Unlike Nakamoto, whose focus is on analysing Munemori across a series of scenes, Harada discusses the motives displayed by the characters within each variation of this specific scene, hypothesising about the wider implications of those disparities.[342] Harada mentions that each version holds different societal and political implications, asserting that this content would have resonated with the audiences for which they were created (which Harada presumes are mostly wealthy).[343] Despite the detail of his analysis, however, Harada does not address the symbolic role of the horse. The idea of the text reflecting or informing the audience is an important consideration, not least if we interpret *Genpei Jōsuiki* as reflecting the values of late sixteenth century Japan.

[341] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:45.
[342] Harada, "Minamoto No Yorimasa Kyohei No Hattan," 46.
[343] Harada, 49, 55.

Section II: Wicked Deeds and Suspicious Steeds: Personal Ambition and a Warrior's Horse

To fully understand the diverse ways in which different variants frame this important account, and to particularly expose the motives contained within *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s story, it is pertinent to look at the roles of 'villain' and 'victim'. This next section discusses how the text presents individuals in either one or both roles, as well as looking at how these representations relate to the relationships between human and horse. In addressing the ongoing theme of personal ambition, the statement that Konoshita was a 'suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven' also must come under scrutiny. The downfall of powerful individuals in this tale correlates directly to a desire to possess particularly prized equines.

The Politics of the Branding Iron: Konoshita, Nanryō and Nakatsuna's Obsession

In accounts of the Konoshita tale, one of the most distinctive images is Munemori's spiteful branding of Nakatsuna's horse. A postcard from the 1930s (*fig 17*) clearly shows Konoshita's branded flank, demonstrating that this version of the story has penetrated through the centuries and remains highly prominent.

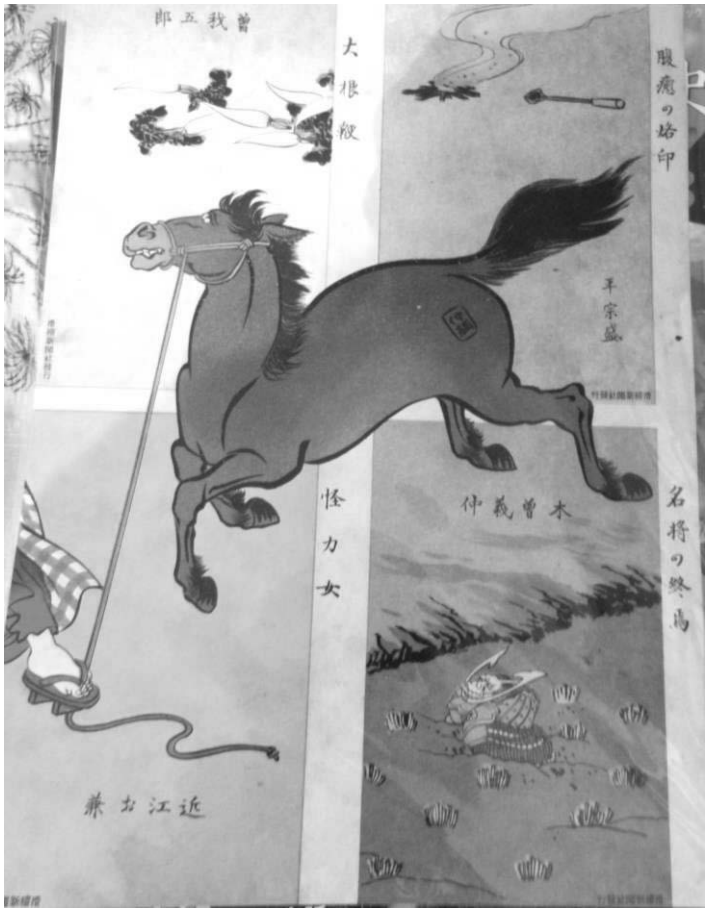

fig 17: Japanese Postcard, circa 1930s, featuring Konoshita, branded by Nakatsuna's stamp, as the centrepiece.

Both the *Kiso Yoshinaka Kunko Zue* and the *Heike Monogatari Zue*, illustrated versions of the *Heike* stories from the late Edo period, also show graphic depictions of Konoshita's branding.[344]

[344] *Kiso Yoshinaka Kunko Zue*, 4:10; *Heike Monogatari Zue*.

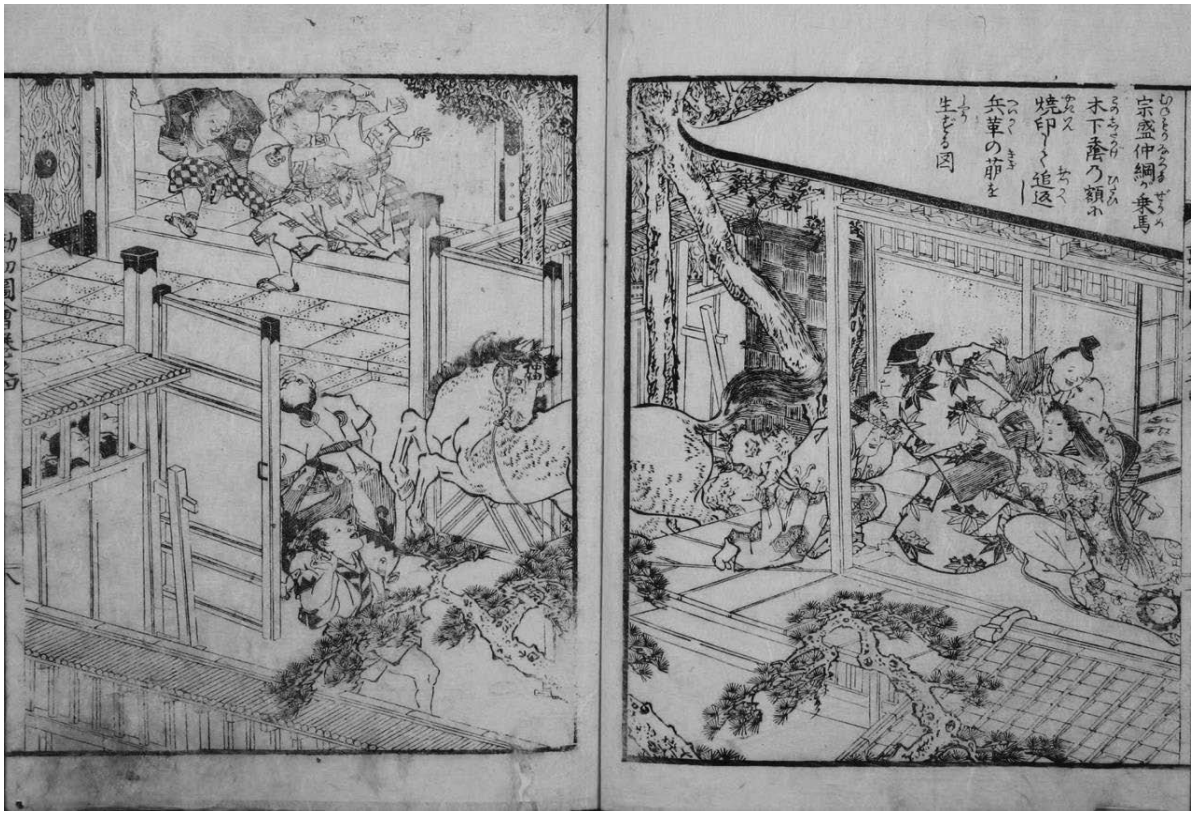

fig 18: Branding of Konoshita at Rokuhara, as illustrated in the Kiso Yoshinaka Kunko Zue (1833)

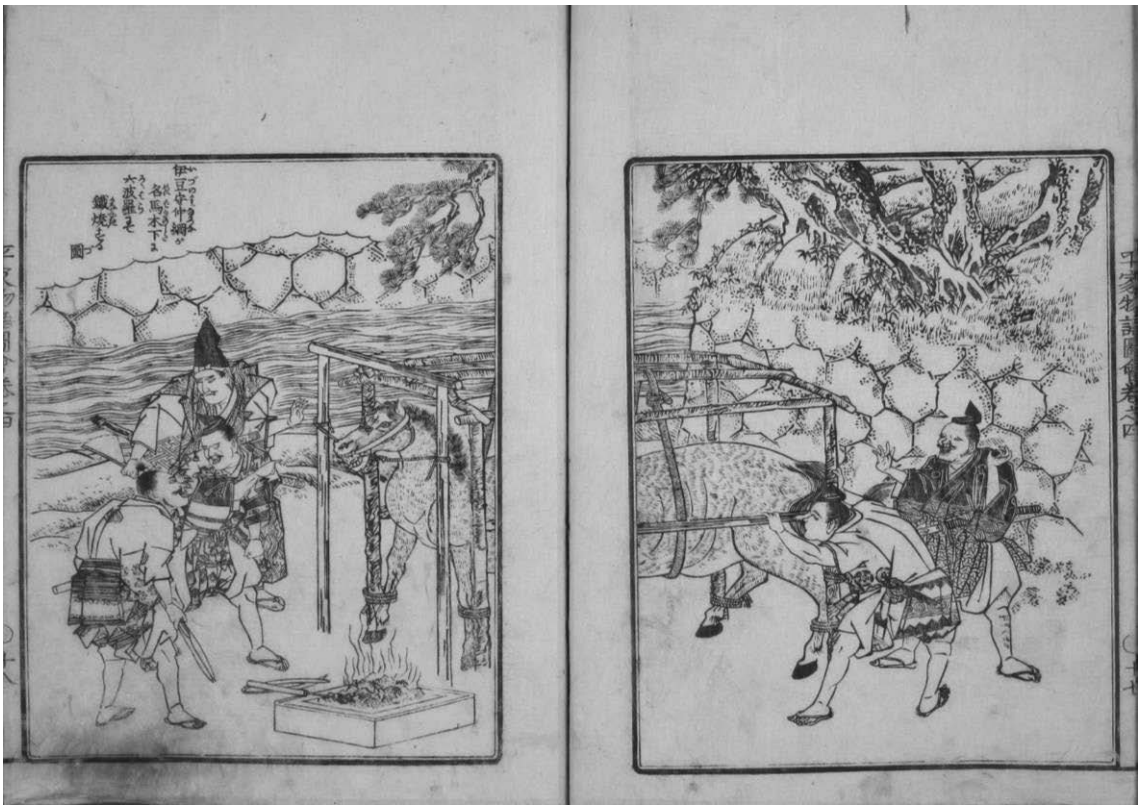

Fig 19: Branding of Konoshita, as illustrated in the Heike Monogatari Zue (circa 1829-49)

In the *Kiso Yoshinaka Kunko Zue* image (*fig 18*), Nakatsuna is even present, staring in dismay as his horse, struggling to get free, is marked with his name.[345] He is easily identified on the right of the picture, being restrained by other retainers, as his clothing features the insignia of the Minamoto family. The *Heike Monogatari Zue* scene depicts Konoshita as being cruelly confined in a wooden scaffold. The branding iron is still in the fire, suggesting that the deed has just taken place, and a group of surrounding figures appear to find the business amusing. The individual with the tall hat and the fan is probably Munemori, overseeing the spiteful act personally. In both examples, the brand appears on the forehead, and this is also the case in the Edo period Kabuki play, *Yorimasa Tsuizen no Shiba.* [346] It is unclear why the brand is moved from the flank to the brow in these examples, although it could be to emphasise the cruelty of the act, burning the horse in a more prominent location. As the postcard image demonstrates, not all versions of the story in later periods moved the brand from the flank to the head, and therefore we cannot assume this was simply a change with the times. It is especially interesting that, in these Edo period examples, there is no equivalent image for the branding of Nanryō.

Mamada Miyako points out that branding a horse was seen as a particularly negative event. She posits that the inclusion of Munemori branding Konoshita in the *Kakuichibon* was designed to make him appear as the villain.[347] While this is a logical assertion, what Mamada does not address is that more versions of the *Heike Monogatari* show Nakatsuna branding Munemori's horse than the other way around. In both *Genpei Jōsuiki* and *Nagatobon*, Munemori's horse is branded by one of Nakatsuna's retinue, and sent back to the capital as a direct gesture of disrespect, although Munemori has not branded Konoshita.[348] In the *Engyōbon*, no horses are branded, with a note being attached to the animal instead.[349] The way this element is utilised through these different texts helps shed some light on the relative positions of villain and victim in each version of the scene. Blame, along with guilt, motive and the idea of criticised behaviour is not consistent across variants. The more familiar association of Munemori branding Nakatsuna's horse also demonstrates how much modern opinion remains influenced by

[345] *Kiso Yoshinaka Kunko Zue*, 4:10.
[346] *Nishizawa Ippū Zenshū*, 4:128.
[347] Mamada, "'Heike Monogatari' No Naka No Taira No Munemori-Zō," 116.
[348] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:51.
[349] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:306; *Engyōbon*, 4:442.

perceptions of Munemori as the *de facto* villain figure of the text. Emphasis has remained on the branding he performed, rather than that inflicted by Nakatsuna. The image of Munemori branding Nakatsuna's horse is also powerful, cited as a motive for rebellion in the Nō play *Genzai Yorimasa*.[350] Even when Munemori's branding does not take place, such as in the Nō dramas *Nakatsuna* and *Konoshita*, Kiō's branding of Nanryō is strongly legitimised by the firm language describing Munemori's unreasonable behaviour.[351]

If branding is a sign of villainy, then Nakatsuna should surely come in for his share of the blame as well. The fact his branding of the horse is not criticised in the same way as Munemori's demonstrates that his action is perceived differently by the text's creators. It manifests as justified or provoked, because of the insult he has experienced, and thus does not resonate with the reader on the same level. Munemori's branding is misconduct, whereas Nakatsuna's is seen as an act of revenge. This appears to be true even if Konoshita is not branded first, as the humiliation suffered by Nakatsuna is enough to validate his reaction. These aspects all help to construct Nakatsuna's position as the cornered victim, forced into taking desperate measures in order to reclaim his family's honour and position.

While this explanation can be found in many versions of the text, it is once more challenged when we examine the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, in which Nakatsuna is not portrayed as a victim. Nakatsuna is also not depicted branding the horse, which is done independently by his retainer Kiō. Removing blame from Nakatsuna also helps to escalate his role in the aggression to follow. Nakatsuna chooses to pursue war as his mode of vengeance, rather than engaging in more petty insults. In doing so, he makes the smaller dispute over individual pride into a much bigger political and military issue. He tells his father that his only choices are to go and kill Munemori, or to take vows and become a monk. By the time Kiō brands Kokasuge, the military path of Yorimasa and his family is already decided. By this point, it is only Kiō who still thinks of Konoshita – he is never mentioned again by Nakatsuna or Yorimasa, whose sights are now set on the bigger political prize. Their house is burned, they already have Mochihito and the edict, and they are prepared to go to war. Konoshita is the catalyst for conflict, rather than a much-loved family steed.

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[350] *Mikan Yōkyokushū*, 5:65; *Nishizawa Ippū Zenshū*, 4:151.
[351] *Mikan Yōkyokushū*, 12:64; *Mikan Yōkyokushū*, 1976, 27:125.

While the *Kakuichibon* frames Munemori as the villain, *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes him a much more neutral figure, demonstrating frustration but lacking the wild outbursts of vengeful temper seen in the *Kakuichibon*. When Kiō flees, stealing the horses and returning to Miidera, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* Munemori cautions his men about trying to pursue a man of Kiō's talent, and even when the branded horse appears at Rokuhara, Munemori does not fly into a rage, merely observing, "this is because of Konoshita."[352] Moreover, where his retainers actively disobey his command to pursue Kiō in the *Kakuichibon*, in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the retainers obey the order to remain behind. Munemori in *Kakuichibon* lacks control of his men and his manor and loses his temper as a result; in *Genpei Jōsuiki* he has control, and obedient retainers, but lacks the will to start a fight.

Genpei Jōsuiki's lack of intent to show Munemori as the villain of this scene is also demonstrated by his behaviour surrounding the acquisition of Konoshita. At first, he just wants to see the horse, and, even when Nakatsuna persists in lying about its whereabouts, he responds by sending more and more urgent messages.[353] While this act is persistent, it is not necessarily presented as negative behaviour. In another scene in the text, Yorimasa also sends several messages to one of the Emperor's ladies, who ultimately becomes his consort.[354] The concept of sending many messages to receive something one desires is validated by the precedent of Yorimasa's actions, making it difficult for the Minamoto to object to it.

Once he receives Konoshita, Munemori realises that it is such a fine horse that he wants to keep it. Unlike the *Kakuichibon* version, however, he does not immediately take it to his stables to beat and brand it. On the contrary, he values it and takes good care of it.[355] When Nakatsuna sends a message demanding Konoshita's return, Munemori sends instead one of his own valuable horses – Nanryō. Unable to comprehend Nakatsuna's affection for Konoshita, he believes that sending another good horse will settle the issue. This decision epitomises the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s depiction of Munemori in this scene as well-meaning but hugely imperceptive. It is only when people visiting him start to ask about "Nakatsuna's cherished horse" that we see Munemori bothered by Nakatsuna's clingy behaviour. It is at this point that he renames

[352] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:51.
[353] *Genpei Jōsuiki* 3:41.
[354] *Genpei Jōsuiki* 3:119–21.
[355] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:42.

Konoshita, parading him up and down as a trophy in front of his guests.[356] This could be viewed as a continuation of his lack of empathy in understanding Nakatsuna's love for his horse, implying a superficiality to the Taira that is not present in the Minamoto. His reaction, however, also suggests something else. Munemori has possession of the horse, and when those around him refer to it as that which Nakatsuna cherished, he becomes desirous of reclaiming face by belittling that affection and showing that the horse is now his. In this text, it is Munemori who is shown reacting to provocation and who feels compelled to defend his name and honour. That said, in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Munemori is presented more as a covetous child than an avaricious mastermind. His actions help only to propel the story towards the end goal of the descent into civil war, but Munemori as an individual here is not important. The real villain of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* story is Nakatsuna, and he is pushed into this antagonistic role by his obsession over his horse, ultimately dragging his father down with him.

Selinger angles her interpretation of this story around Nakatsuna's love for Konoshita. Although acknowledging that the *Heike Monogatari* corpus does not contain any other scenes 'in which equine love absorbs and replaces violent energies', she offers a parallel story from another text, the *Kojidan*, in which a warrior values his horse over the life of his wife and is unable to slay it.[357] Her conclusion to this hypothesis is that texts involving affection for a horse allow emotions to be represented in individuals traditionally hardened for warfare. [358] This assertion is problematic, not only because of the lack of supporting material within the *Heike* corpus, but also because there are several instances in *Heike* texts in which warriors demonstrate emotions. In many of these scenes, the text explains that these individuals are moved to tears because they are not made of wood or stone.[359] *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes several references to dramatic love connections between individuals, including warriors. Aside from the example of Yorimasa's pursuit of an Imperial court lady, mentioned above, these themes can be seen in stories such as the death of Shigemori's son Kiyotsune, whose desire to commit suicide in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* is initially triggered by a broken heart.[360] Similarly tragic tales exist on the Genji side, too, with the doomed obsession of Endou no Musha Moritō

[356] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.
[357] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 153–54.
[358] Selinger, 153.
[359] For example, during the exile of Narichika, the text states,「武士共モサスガ岩木ヲムスバネバ、各々袖ヲゾヌラシケル」*Genpei Jōsuiki*, 2:12.
[360] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:90–91.

to possess his cousin, Kesa. Her death, and his taking of religious vows, lead him to become the monk, Mongaku; a key figure in Yoritomo's cause.[361] In all these examples, deep, uncontrolled emotion (and its consequences) is clearly being expressed by warrior figures. It is hard to countenance the Konoshita scene as a unique expression of genuine feelings from a battle-hardened warrior. Moreover, Nakatsuna's worldly attachment to his horse is destructive. The text uses such material concerns to castigate their cause as grounded in personal aims. This contrasts it with the higher intentions of Yoritomo, who is presented as seeking no personal reward and who makes frequent donations to temples and shrines, including offerings of horses. Nakatsuna's desire to cling to his horse is juxtaposed in an unfavourable way against the pious conduct of his kinsman, who frequently gives away horses. This adds to Yoritomo's legitimacy and undermines Nakatsuna's own. In the example analysed in Chapter Three, Kagesue regains respectability later in *Genpei Jōsuiki* through diligent military conduct. No such redemption occurs for Nakatsuna. Although there are brave deeds at Uji Bridge, Nakatsuna is not involved in them. His battle strategies demonstrate cowardice, and ultimately his death is overshadowed by the heroics of his cousin Kanetsuna.[362] The defeat at Uji not only destroys Nakatsuna's life, it also undermines his future reputation as martyr to an honourable cause.

A Suspicious Steed Unparalleled Beneath Heaven: The Fate of Emperor Mu.

As presented in Chapter One, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses horses to demonstrate peripheral or aberrant behaviour. In the Konoshita dispute we see similar aspects coming into focus. Rather than acting as a vessel to minimise chaos and violence through equine affection, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests a much more sinister connection between the superior horse and the collapse of order into chaos. At the end of the Konoshita section, the text states,

> The Novice of Third Rank, on hearing [Nakatsuna's complaints], must have felt great resentment himself about these events. It later became known publicly that, for this reason, he put such evil ideas to the Prince. Thus it is said that one should not use such a suspiciously superior steed, as it can end in such a way.[363]

[361] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:11–19.
[362] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:75–92.
[363] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.

‘Suspicious steed’, or more literally ‘strange and shamelessly bold steed’ (*ayashiki isameru norimono)* is not explained at this point, but a clarification for its meaning comes after the Chinese comparison tale of Emperor Mu of Zhou, where we discover,

> Because of [the fate of Emperor Mu], the poet Bai Juyi[364] called these horses ‘suspicious steeds’[365], and wrote that one should not use such odd mounts.[366]

The dark nuances around this ‘suspicious steed’ reference continue to the end of this segment, where the text concludes by saying,

> The neigh of Konoshita-maru was transformed into the fighting spirit of warriors, and thus people said that this horse became a suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven… In this time, and because of one horse, Nakatsuna led his entire family to oblivion. This was something that was indeed to be pitied.[367]

Rather than a text minimising danger and maximising equine love, I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests affection for a horse *creates* danger, maximising instead the potential for chaos and disruption in the realm. Here we have the direct assertion that Konoshita, the horse Nakatsuna loved, was the cause of the rebellion. This accusation is made even more severe in the opening phrase of the next section, the *Compassion of the Komatsu Minister*, where the text tells us that ‘the world descended into chaos because of a single horse’.[368] The liminal nature of Konoshita is also reinforced in book sixteen, when the text reminds the reader that Yorimasa’s downfall came about on account of a horse, but that it was no ordinary matter, and must have been the work of an *onryō* (vengeful spirit). Put in context with the remarks about equine otherness, it seems plausible that the text is suggesting that Konoshita himself is the *onryō* responsible, and thus is no ordinary beast.[369]

Konoshita’s power to drive a family to destruction and cause a country to go to war with itself presents a more liminal interpretation of the animal, as this thesis has

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[364] 白居易 (AD772–846), a poet of the Tang dynasty and Chinese governmental minister.
[365] 寄物
[366] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.
[367] *Genpei Jōsuiki* 3:45.
[368] 3:45.
[369] 3:129.

previously discussed. The horse's cry, directly paralleled with the fighting spirit of warriors, is also not an image isolated to this scene alone. A later description of the gathered warriors and horses before the second battle of Uji in 1184 describes the unworldly call of the prized horse Ikezuki, which can be heard above all the others and which resonates like a temple bell in the atmosphere. [370] Ikezuki's role in the conflict will be explored in detail in Chapter Three. A similar motif also presages the Taira flight from the battlefield at Fujikawa. According to *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the water-birds which frighten the Taira are startled, not just by Genji weaponry, but also by the neighs of their horses.[371]

Far from using the Konoshita dispute to reduce a bigger event to a petty squabble between warriors, *Genpei Jōsuiki* consistently presents the horse as the connective bringing men to war. Konoshita's significance can also be understood by the fact that, although the names and roles of other horses in the scene change depending on the text, 'Konoshita' is constant throughout all the versions. This horse in particular is important – as the 'suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven', it is this horse who is special and outstanding enough that it is capable of causing civil war.

If we now examine in full the inserted tale of Emperor Mu in this scene, we can see that it is a tale connected to these sinister warnings around 'suspicious steeds' and their consequences. This segment forms the final section of the Konoshita incident in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* and is entitled "The Eight Horses of the King of Zhou". It contains a comparison between two Chinese monarchs, Mu of the Zhou and Wendi of the Han, and is only found in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*. The first section tells the story of Emperor Mu and his eight fast horses:

> In the past, there was an Emperor of the Zhou by the name of Mu. He had eight swift horses in his possession. Because each horse could cover 10,000 ri of terrain within a day, they were considered even swifter than the flight of a bird. Emperor Mu in particular loved them dearly, and rode as far as the most barren locations. Because he didn't return to the capital, the rites to the ancestors in the Seven Mausoleums also became neglected, while the state affairs and governance halted. As time went by, the people became miserable, the country fell to ruin, and in the end, Emperor Mu died.[372]

[370] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:163.
[371] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:150.
[372] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.

Emperor Mu, a King of the Zhou Dynasty, is often recorded in history and Chinese tales as a reckless leader, who refused to listen to sage advice and who spent much of his time hunting and pursuing invaders who threatened the borders of his territory.[373] This campaign of chastisement was in the east, far from the capital. According to historian Li Feng, Zhou China operated with two military forces – the Six Armies and the Eight Armies. Although reconstituted later, the Six Armies were allegedly decimated in a failed southern campaign that also killed Mu's predecessor, Zhao. The implication is that Mu would have had to use the Eight Armies to pursue his invasion of external lands, to the detriment of central politics and in defiance of his counsellors' opinions. Li Feng suggests that this desire to expand borders without consolidating at home was a key element in the beginning of the fall of the Zhou dynasty. It seems highly probable that the 'eight swift horses' referenced in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests the Eight Armies of the Zhou, and Mu's pursuit of his military ambition rather than the public good.

In Chapter One, I discussed the use of direction and geography in the omen of the court horse, Mochizuki, and the mice that nested in his tail. Mochizuki represented the south and the court, while the mice were likely metaphors for the invading force of Minamoto no Yoshinaka. In the story of King Mu, we can also approximate similar themes of direction, invoking ideas of centrality and peripherality. Mu has left his court and has travelled to the east of the Kingdom – a location described as 'barren'. He is not only on the physical periphery of his kingdom, however, but also on the political one – by separating himself from the advice of his ministers to pursue his own ends. His neglect of the normal ritual also feeds into the idea that Mu's behaviour is peripheral and worthy of criticism. Unlike the Mochizuki example, the horses in this story are not symbols of the capital, but connectives, transporting the Emperor from the centre to the periphery and from a position of safety and prosperity to an empty location which foreshadows his ultimate downfall. By following his personal desires and riding the prized horses to the east, Mu has forsaken his duties as Emperor, and is no longer fit to rule. Consequently, he dies.

We can draw a parallel between this incident and that of Nakatsuna and Konoshita. Although Nakatsuna's destruction is caused by only one fine horse, this horse also has connections to peripheral or 'other' locations – he comes from the east to the capital. Where the Mochizuki example utilised the north to represent the invasion of

[373] Li, *Landscape and power in early China*.

Yoshinaka into the capital, Konoshita's eastern origins might allude to the growing power-base of Yoritomo in the eastern province of Izu. Izu is a pivotal location in the Genpei story. It is the location of Yoritomo's exile, the future base of the Kamakura shogunate, and the province of which Nakatsuna is Governor at the time of the insurrection. Earlier textual accounts of the uprising, such as the thirteenth century text, *Rokudai Shōjiki*, record that Yorimasa's forces were largely comprised of Izu warriors.[374] In this context, Konoshita coming from the east may well signify the resurgence of Minamoto identity in Yorimasa and his family, although it is ultimately applied in a disastrous way. *Genpei Jōsuiki* tells us that this horse came from the provinces, and that this one horse also caused the realm to fall into chaos. In this respect, by being the cause of the downfall of Yorimasa's family, Konoshita is framed in the same light as Mu's eight swift horses – it represents the dangers of pursuing individual pride and ambition over doing the right thing. At the time of the Konoshita dispute, Yorimasa and his family were also the only legitimate Minamoto at the Imperial court, as all other branches of the line had been eradicated or disgraced, leaving scattered heirs in temples or in exile across the land. With the destruction of Yorimasa and his heirs, and their failure to reignite Genji prospects on their own terms, the path is left open for Yoritomo to ultimately sweep in, restore the honour of the family and reclaim the position as the 'legitimate' Minamoto in the eyes of the court.

Three More Horses: Replacement, Recruit and Returned in Disgrace

This chapter has predominantly focused on the role of Konoshita in the downfall of Yorimasa and his family, but in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, there are three other named horses which also play a part in the story. Their roles can be summarised in the following table (*fig 20*):

Name of Horse	**Role played in story**
Konoshita	Nakatsuna's prized horse, coveted by Munemori and ultimately received by him. Renamed 'Nakatsuna' to humiliate former owner.
Nanryō	Given by Munemori to Nakatsuna as a replacement for Konoshita.
Tōyama	One of two horses taken from Munemori by Watanabe Kiō. Retained by Nakatsuna's forces.
Kokasuge	One of two horses taken from Munemori by Watanabe Kiō. Hair cut, branded with Munemori's name and sent back to Rokuhara as an insult.

Fig 20: Named horses and their roles in the story of the Konoshita incident, Genpei Jōsuiki.

[374] *Rokudai Shōjiki・Godaiteiō Monogatari*, 66.

By referring back to the table at the start of the chapter (*fig 15*), it is easy to see that not only does *Genpei Jōsuiki* include more named horses than the other texts, it is also the only text in which Munemori offers a horse in return for Konoshita. While some of the horse names listed in *fig 20* are used in other versions of the text, the roles attributed to those animals are not necessarily the same as those contained in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. In many variant texts, Nanryō is the horse branded and returned to Rokuhara, although in the *Engyōbon* this horse is Tōyama, who is returned to Munemori with a note. In the *Nagatobon*, Kiō manages to steal back Konoshita himself. All these variations potentially confuse the purpose of the horses across the different texts, and for reasons of clarity, I will focus my analysis on the usage found in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, referring to Nanryō and Tōyama according to how they are used in that text, rather than their appearance in other variants, as *Genpei Jōsuiki* is the text which gives most emphasis and detail around equine involvement. The final horse, Kokasuge, only appears in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, although it fulfils a role conducted by other animals in other variants. To really discover why *Genpei Jōsuiki's* story is both different and significant requires an analysis of the roles of all four horses in this particular text.

This chapter has already suggested that Konoshita represents Nakatsuna's individual ambition and military status. This status is acquired by Munemori, who, representing the Taira administration, highlights the current inequality between the two warrior families. The two horses that Kiō takes from Munemori are treated differently. While Kokasuge is branded with the message, "The Novice, Taira no Munemori", and sent back to Kyō, the second horse, Tōyama, becomes a part of Nakatsuna's retinue. The decision to keep one of the horses does not occur in any other *Heike* corpus text. In Chapter One, I theorised on how *Mutsu Waki* utilises the possession and seizure of horses to demonstrate transfers of power from one individual to another. This occurs both in individual cases, where lords take horses from retainers or enemies, but also in a collective sense, when the capture of Abe horses foreshadows their ultimate defeat. While the taking of Tōyama is not on the same scale as the examples in the *Mutsu Waki* battles, it can also be seen as Kiō directly stealing power and influence from the Taira in order to convey it to his Minamoto masters. Kiō taking one horse would be seen as revenge, equalising the debt between the two sides. By taking two horses, the text implies Minamoto advantage. Although the battle of Uji Bridge is a catastrophic defeat for Yorimasa's forces, the mood of the camp following the theft of the horses is one of

triumph, not of despair. Moreover, while Yorimasa's individual cause may be sunk, the Minamoto clan as a whole are not. This triumphant presentation makes the rebellion appear as a stepping stone on the road to Yoritomo's ultimate success – connecting Yorimasa to Yoritomo without tainting Yoritomo with Yorimasa's personal ambition. Kiō is also not included in the criticism applied to his masters. On the contrary, he is presented as a loyal warrior, and the animals he takes are not for his use, but to enable him to reach his lord. Although Kokasuge is returned, Tōyama is not. Kiō's theft is not only a gesture of fealty to Yorimasa but also a means of stealing power from the enemy.

Tōyama's name means 'distant mountain', implying that, like Konoshita, his origins are far from the capital. If Konoshita represents the presence of Izu warriors in Yorimasa's campaign, or at the very least, the rise of Genji sympathies within Yorimasa's family, Tōyama's addition to the Minamoto camp may reflect those warriors of Izu changing sides from Taira loyalism to Minamoto rebellion. If so, this ties the story back to the ideas of legitimacy and the Imperial edict of Mochihito mentioned earlier in the chapter. Mochihito's edict was allegedly transmitted to the provinces, including Izu, and the transference of military power from Taira to Minamoto is an established theme which reoccurs throughout *Genpei Jōsuiki*.[375] It would not be strange, therefore, to view Tōyama as the first step in this process. Izu begins the story as Taira controlled land, but it will eventually become the stronghold of Yoritomo's military government. While the text's emphasis is on Konoshita as the horse that caused the war, the role of Tōyama as a horse of shifting geographical sympathies cannot be ignored.

Branded and returned with his hair cut, Kokasuge's mutilation answers the insult given when Munemori decided to rename Konoshita 'Nakatsuna'. The horse's ability to find his way home also is paralleled with a Chinese story about following a horse back to one's homeland:

> In the past, when Duke Huan of Qi attacked the state of Guzhu, his forces set out in the spring and returned home in the winter. At that time, heavy snow had fallen, burying the road and making it impossible to find their way home. Because of this, adviser Guan Zhong suggested a solution.

[375] For example, rallying to the Minamoto banner and the defection of the powerful warrior, Hatakeyama Shigetada. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:142–44.

> "We should use the wisdom of an old horse," he said. An old horse was thus released into the snow and, following its tracks, Duke Huan was able to return to the Kingdom of Qi.
>
> In the present, too, Munemori's horse Kokasuge, despite the distance between Miidera and Rokuhara, parted the grass of the turf road. Soaked by the early morning dew, it passed by the mountain barrier of Sekiyama and the home of the barrier guard, returning to the home of its former master, the Major Captain.[376]

As Kiō chose to ride to Miidera to join his original master, so Kokasuge gallops back to Rokuhara to reunite himself with his lord, Munemori. Although given to Kiō, the text here refers to it as still being 'Munemori's horse'. By invoking this parallel, the text once again emphasises loyalty to one master.

The final horse, Nanryō, also has a key role to play, although, once sent to Nakatsuna, he disappears and is not mentioned again. Nanryō's name in *kanji* varies between texts, and in some, like the *Nagatobon*, it is written in *hiragana*. In the *Kakuichibon*, the *kanji* used to write his name are 煖廷, meaning 'warm' and 'court'.[377] This may convey further mocking of Munemori's position, but in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the *kanji* used are 南鐐, 'southern silver'.[378] As Kusaka has pointed out, the Taira were heavily involved in trade with China through the port of Fukuhara during this time period, and had control of imports at Dazaifu.[379] Although Japan did not use coinage at this time, there are other references in the *Heike* to Chinese currency, including a donation made for prayers to be said for his soul by Shigemori on his deathbed.[380] The giving of Nanryō the horse thus implies gifts made to the Minamoto, and perhaps, given the critical nature of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* towards Nakatsuna's actions, imply that Yorimasa and his family owe their rank and position to the Taira administration. Despite the attempts of the *Heike* corpus to present Yorimasa and his family as long-suffering and loyal Minamoto, the reality was quite different. In the two military skirmishes in the capital of 1156 and 1159-60, Yorimasa was clever enough to choose the right side. This choice, however, meant turning his back on his Minamoto kinsfolk, doing nothing to prevent the downfall of the family and their virtual eradication from the political scene by 1160. Both Yoritomo's grandfather and his father were lost in

[376] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:51.
[377] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:305.
[378] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:42.
[379] Kusaka, *Heike Monogatari Tendoku*, 81.
[380] *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:247–48; *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 2:164.

these conflicts, as well as many of his uncles and brothers. Yorimasa, however, chose to ally with the Taira, and received benefit for having done so – his ultimate promotion to Third Rank was at the behest of the Taira hegemon, Kiyomori.[381] The use of this kanji for Nanryō might suggest a darker meaning – that Yorimasa and his family were distracted from their blood obligations by the promise of power and rank. This also constitutes personal ambition, which may explain why the text treats them so critically.

Nanryō is introduced to us as a fine horse, but the text states that he is inferior to Konoshita. The concept of an equine hierarchy is not unique to this scene and is also used to great effect in the Ikezuki and Surusumi dispute discussed in Chapter Three. If Konoshita represents Minamoto pride and ambition, and Nanryō reflects the equivalent under a Taira regime, then, by accepting Nanryō, Yorimasa and his family have settled for second-best in order to pursue court promotions. Fidelity to one's original lord, even in times of hardship, is an important theme in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and yet it is a bond which Yorimasa and his family have long since forsaken. Nakatsuna's acceptance of Nanryō, which otherwise appears a strange moment in the story, is thus explained. Nakatsuna does not consider receiving Nanryō to be an insult, but only becomes enraged when he hears of Munemori's behaviour. He tells his father,

> I felt that, to the very end, I would not stop thinking of Konoshita. In spite of this, your orders are difficult to defy, and so I gave the horse away. Even if, from the bottom of my heart I could not think respectfully of Munemori, so long as good manners were observed, I would be thankful. But it has not been that way. At a drinking party of his and other families, I have heard of things he has said.[382]

Nakatsuna's statement indicates his attempts to be a filial son, in obeying Yorimasa's orders. More significantly, however, he states that, 'so long as good manners were observed', he would accept the situation. While the receipt of Nanryō is not mentioned here, Nakatsuna's words hint that he is open to diplomatic persuasion, and thus probably accepted this equine bribe at first. Nakatsuna's reason for a change of heart is because of 'things [Munemori] has said' at a drinking party, which have brought him and his family into disrepute. With Munemori's behaviour, Nakatsuna is reminded of the pride and history of his family and seeks to act to restore it (in other words, to

[381] Nagai, *Minamoto no Yorimasa to Kiso Yoshinaka*, 65.
[382] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:43.

reclaim the lost Konoshita, rather than settling for the inferior Nanryō). Instead of branding this Minamoto pride, as we see in the *Kakuichibon*, Munemori is simply hoarding it, and, by going to war, Nakatsuna sees a way of getting it back.

Yorimasa's family betrayed the Minamoto when they were needed in 1156 and 1159-60. Now, having received high court honours, the idea of them trying to go to war for their own personal reasons is not something to be celebrated. Far from upholding Genji honour, they instead use the Minamoto name to garner Imperial support in order to pursue a personal grievance. This action, while producing the initial edict that gives legitimacy to the other Genji in the provinces, has no real bearing or link to the aims or ambitions of the subsequent Minamoto cause. This interpretation matches with Selinger's assertion that in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Yoritomo is morally detached from this dispute over individual pride.[383] The text emphasises this by providing Yoritomo with a direct *and separate* Imperial edict from Mochihito, personally commanding him to take control of the Genji forces and lead in a more righteous way. Through the representation of these four different horses, and their interaction with their human companions, *Genpei Jōsuiki* illustrates the penalty for pursuing individual gain over the interests of the realm. It also provides a basis to legitimise Yoritomo's own campaign by presenting it as a continuation of Mochihito's cause, while at the same time separating his actions from the conflicted behaviour of Yorimasa and his son, and the avaricious behaviour of the Taira. This helps to reinforce *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s overall message that Yoritomo is the only righteous leader, and the only one who can protect the disordered realm and bring it to peace (riding the horse that is Japan and bringing it under his control). While other Genji – like Yorimasa, and later, Yoshinaka, also attempt this, they are ultimately discredited because they provide opposition to Yoritomo's claim. By tying Yoritomo's actions directly to a personally addressed edict from Mochihito, Yoritomo's cause can be presented as legitimate even when these other Genji pretenders fall from grace in the eyes of the text's compilers.

The Common Good: The Moral Example of Emperor Wendi

[383] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 152.

The second Chinese story contained in this final segment also reinforces the idea of supporting the common good and the greater cause over personal interest. This story stands as a comparison to that of Mu, and tells the tale of Wendi of the Han, who takes a different approach to receiving a swift horse:

> In the time of the Han, the Emperor, Wendi, was given a horse which could cover 10,000 ri in one day. The Emperor gave the instruction that, "In times of great fortune, in the historical records, ten thousand riders obeyed my predecessors. There is no call for me to ride on alone, ahead of everyone else, on a horse that covers 10,000 ri in a day," and, ultimately, he did not ever use this horse. By doing this, the people became wealthy and the country recovered (healed).[384]

By not using the swift horse, Wendi is effectively suppressing his own individual ambition for the interests of the greater good. This is praised, because his actions allow the land to heal (治レリ). Mu is shown as destroying the country for the sake of his individual ambition, whilst Wendi's wisdom in collective approach helps to mend the damage. *Genpei Jōsuiki* is saying that, while the individual ambition of foolish men like Nakatsuna and Yorimasa cast the world into chaos, the recovery of the realm lies in the collective approach promoted by Yoritomo, through the formation of his shogunal government. This image also resonates with the one presented in Chapter One, in the dream sequence depicting Yoritomo straddling the land of Japan as though it were a horse. Yoritomo's physical connection with far-flung areas of the land in this metaphor demonstrates his intent to reach out to all places in the manner of Wendi, and his ability to manage his ambition and control the 'wild horse' he rides makes him a worthy future leader. While Mu was dazzled by the speed and power of his horses in the manner of Nakatsuna's obsession with Konoshita, Wendi is sensible to the power of the realm, in the same way as Yoritomo, even if it means putting his own interests aside.

This angle contrasts strongly with the *Kakuichibon* version of the story, which, promoting the legitimacy of the Ashikaga Minamoto, offers the listener moral advice about overreaching one's power, and vilifies Munemori in an attempt to show the Minamoto rebels in a more sympathetic and justified light. *Genpei Jōsuiki* offers no such justification, again raising questions about whether the *Genpei Jōsuiki* that survives today can be seen as a text created in the fourteenth century. Instead of

[384] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:44.

providing legitimacy for the Ashikaga to overthrow the Hōjō shogunate, *Genpei Jōsuiki* condemns any military action designed to settle a personal grievance. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the oldest surviving versions of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* date from the latter half of the sixteenth century, a time period in which Japan was attempting to resolve more than a century of fragmentary internal warfare. If viewed as a text of this time period, the warnings and advice promoted in this *Genpei Jōsuiki* section make sense. It seems much more likely that a text advocating unity would be compiled and disseminated in this climate, rather than in an earlier one.

Section III: Serving One Master: The Loyalty of Kiō and the warrior hierarchy.

This study has already indicated how the *Kakuichibon*, the currently dominant version of the *Heike Monogatari* in popular and academic circulation, frames Munemori's taking of the horse as an act of avarice or spite, with him abusing his power. As this chapter has demonstrated, however, Munemori's motivation is not always presented in the text as greed. Moreover, in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* version, Nakatsuna's constant lying is also a factor in causing the ultimate dispute.[385] It is only after Nakatsuna's deception is revealed that Munemori becomes insistent about seeing the horse for himself. While lying is neither an uncommon event in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, nor necessarily criticised behaviour, Nakatsuna's lie is quickly uncovered. Tactical lying is a theme which will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Three, but Nakatsuna's use of deception appears less as a cunning skill and more as a desperate attempt to keep hold of a precious possession. In this light, his lie is pitiful, rather than praiseworthy. Nakatsuna's decision to lie about Konoshita's whereabouts is criticised by his father, who points out that, even if the horse were made of gold, he would have to give it up, as Munemori holds higher rank. This issue of deception and rank will form a key part of the next section of analysis.

Resentment and Rank: The 'Military Equals'

When protesting against Munemori's shameful behaviour, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* Nakatsuna makes a lot of the humiliation of the Genji as a family. In both *Genpei Jōsuiki* and *Nagatobon*, Nakatsuna gives a detailed explanation of the history of both families, stating that they ought to be equals at court, but currently are not.[386] This ideology invokes once again the question of hierarchy and status, and echoes the mentality presented by Yoshitomo in *Heiji Monogatari*. Yoshitomo, who was Yoritomo's father and a figure whose exploits are frequently referenced in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, expresses his resentment towards the Taira family's advanced rank by taking up arms.[387] *Genpei Jōsuiki* also uses this argument of parity between the Minamoto and Taira families at several other points in the text, to outline why it is unfair that the Taira should have such superior ranks.[388] In doing so, the text frequently omits to mention that

[385] Harada, "Minamoto No Yorimasa Kyohei No Hattan," 47.
[386] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:43; *Nagatobon*, 2:15.
[387] *Hōgen Monogatari, Heiji Monogatari*, 31:193–94.
[388] For example *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:87.

the previous two generations of Minamoto betrayed both the throne and each other in order to try and obtain higher rank and plaudits. By excluding this information, it is easier for *Genpei Jōsuiki* to isolate Yorimasa and Nakatsuna's actions as personal ambition, while still presenting their rebellion as a prologue to the greater Minamoto cause.

Nonetheless, Nakatsuna and Yorimasa identify themselves with the Genji, using this connection in order to encourage Mochihito to issue an edict in their name. Nakatsuna's protestations about the political imbalance also indicate that his grievance is not specifically with Munemori. He is bemoaning the unequal status of their two families, which, despite their continued loyalty to the Taira cause, has now forced him to give up his horse to a rival. At the same time, the fact that Munemori has been lied to by Nakatsuna – which in *Genpei Jōsuiki* is a continuous chain of deception, rather than just one lie – also shows active disrespect for the disparity of rank between them. The first humiliation in this story is enacted *from Nakatsuna towards Munemori*, through his resistance to Munemori's request. By ignoring Munemori's messages and refusing to give up the horse, he is betraying the hierarchy and not observing his obligation to one of higher rank.

In the scene analysed in Chapter Four, the Regent, Motofusa, is of higher rank than Sukemori, and is affronted by Sukemori's lack of respect. Motofusa is depicted as the overall victim of Taira arrogance, but in the Nakatsuna scene, the nuances are different. Nakatsuna is told by his father to give up the horse because of Munemori's status, and his scolding indicates that Nakatsuna's behaviour is disrespectful. Nakatsuna's later exposition about the comparative status of Minamoto and Taira indicates that Munemori's bloodline is as important a motive in this as his interest in Konoshita. Nakatsuna resents giving the horse up, not specifically because he loves the horse, as he seems to soon forget about it once the story moves into the battle of Uji, but because he refuses to recognise a Taira lord as his superior. Unlike the *Kakuichibon*, which shows Munemori branding and bullying Konoshita out of spite, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* and *Nagatobon* versions portray a frustrated Munemori who is angry at Nakatsuna's reluctance and his deception. As this chapter has already discussed, in neither text is Konoshita branded, and, although he is paraded around for visitors at the Taira mansion, the humiliation Munemori inflicts on the horse and on Nakatsuna follows a long period of provocation. Emphasis on rank in the interpretation of this

story is also found in the Edo Period Kabuki play, *Yorimasa Tsuizen no Shiba*, which features an angry exchange of words between Motofusa and Munemori. Motofusa states that Munemori's ancestors would never have been allowed to hold such high court position. Munemori retorts angrily, pointing out that his father is currently the Great Minister of State (*Daijō Daijin*), whatever his family origins.[389] The significance of rank, bloodline and respect in this later interpretation of the story makes it a valid point of consideration when analysing motives in the *Heike* corpus scene, not least because of the popularity of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text during the Edo period.

Nakatsuna's behaviour reflects a denial that the Taira deserve the respect due their rank, because they are born warriors and not nobles. There is an underlying message about individuals exceeding their birth-right or social class, which has implications for central and peripheral understanding of position. The Taira are often associated with the centre, operating out of Kyō and holding court ranks that place them in significant positions of power, while the Minamoto are frequently linked with the periphery, with connections to the east. Nakatsuna's role as Governor of Izu is in keeping with that perception, as is his receipt of Konoshita from the provinces. Despite his position at the heart of the Kyō hierarchy, however, Munemori is as peripheral as Nakatsuna, because although he has attained higher court rank, he is not accepted in that position. This consistent erosion of Munemori's position in the horse dispute helps to undermine the Taira's overall legitimacy, again laying the groundwork to justify Yoritomo's military campaign as something more than just personal ambition.

Genpei Jōsuiki uses the horse to further emphasise the disparity between Munemori's actual rank and his influence. Riding Kokasuge, Kiō passes by the gates of Munemori's manor without dismounting (門前ヲ下馬モセズ), an act Munemori's retainers identify as disrespect.[390] Dismounting before the gate of a higher ranked official was common courtesy. Munemori is not just insulted by Nakatsuna, but by Nakatsuna's retainer, who also refuses to observe proper custom. The horse in question is also formerly Munemori's property, and Kiō's continued position in the saddle shows that he has the momentum in this scene, successfully taking the power of the Taira and delivering it to the Minamoto cause. As previously discussed, Izu is also the location of Yoritomo, who begins the story as both geographically and politically peripheral, but,

[389] *Nishizawa Ippū Zenshū*, 4:128.
[390] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:50.

on account of this dispute, will ultimately form a new military centre away from the capital. The status of both Taira and Minamoto as central and peripheral is therefore transitory.

The second section of the Konoshita story describes an incident in which Nakatsuna saves Munemori's brother, Shigemori, from a snake. For this act, he is rewarded with a gift of a black horse and subsequent to this incident, he is also promoted in rank. This story is included in most *Heike* versions, and is designed to juxtapose Munemori's pettiness with Shigemori's generosity. Where one Taira takes a horse, another gives. Although we might see the receipt of the black horse here as the giving of favour which ultimately is taken away, there are other, deeper messages hidden within this scene than simply a comparison between Shigemori and Munemori. The encounter has Nakatsuna demonstrate his understanding of court culture and custom, exchanging a joke with Shigemori about the capture of the snake. When requesting the return of Konoshita, Nakatsuna also sends a poem, to which Munemori, at the heart of court operations, does not reply. Communicating via poetry is a courtly skill, and Munemori's failure to observe it reinforces his unsuitability to hold high rank. It is not Nakatsuna that the text is deliberately marginalising, but Munemori and, by association, the future of the Taira family. Nakatsuna's knowledge of court protocol and his ability to write poetry make him much closer to the 'centre' than Munemori can ever be. While Shigemori escapes from most censure directed at the Taira, probably on account of his early death, Munemori has no such protection. Although he possesses court rank, he does not understand courtly conventions, and thus acts in an aberrant way. This presentation of Munemori as ignorant of court custom is contradicted in other parts of the text when, surrounded by his own kinsfolk, Munemori does recite poetry. Munemori's failure to respond to Nakatsuna's poem may also indicate he considers Nakatsuna inferior, and thus not worthy of a proper response. This also feeds into the sense of hierarchy between the two men, and their positions as synonymously central and peripheral, depending on the viewpoint of the audience and the character.

The issue of rank is reinforced particularly in the *Nagatobon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* texts. It is not uncommon for individuals to be referenced by their titles in the War Tales, and in the *Engyōbon* and *Kakuichibon*, titles, names and ranks are used interchangeably. In the *Nagatobon*, however, Munemori is not named until the very end

of the Konoshita dispute. Instead he is referred to as *Taishō* – Major Captain.[391] In *Genpei Jōsuiki,* a clearer disparity of rank and respect is apparent. Munemori is referred to in the narrative by his rank – in this case, the Major Captain of the Right (*Udaishō*) - but in dialogue, he is referred to by his given name, Munemori. This indicates a lack of acknowledgement of Munemori's status in the eyes of the other characters, namely Nakatsuna and the people of Kyō who comment on the scene. This contrast reinforces the importance of rank in these scenes and Munemori's simultaneous position in both the centre and on the periphery. Although he has been awarded rank, it has not been recognised by wider society, and is thus invalid.

Equally, when Munemori renames the horse in all versions, he calls it "Nakatsuna", "Nakatsuna-me", "Nakatsuna-maru" – all informal terms of address designed to undermine Nakatsuna's status. There is only one instance in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* where he instructs his retainers to lead out the "Governor of Izu". The branding of "Nakatsuna" on the horse in the *Kakuichibon* version is an extension of this humiliation. Where Nakatsuna demands equal levels of respect, Munemori reminds him that the hierarchy favours the Taira. Disgruntled, Nakatsuna allows his pride to drive his family to destruction. The horse plays a pivotal role in this, for the right to own Konoshita reinforces the existing hierarchy of rank. Possession implies victory in a struggle between two warrior families for social standing.[392]

Nakamoto indicates that only this scene in the *Kakuichibon* shows Munemori actively mocking another individual and acting spitefully, highlighting this as surprising.[393] If we consider this to be a conflict over rank and a representation of resentment towards the Taira rise to power, however, other examples of resentful attitudes to Taira promotions exist. These can also be found in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Fujiwara Narichika's downfall, exile and death are preceded by a complaint he makes about Munemori's rise in rank.[394] Resentments towards the Taira family's elevated position even arise in conjunction with Mochihito's uprising - a letter from Kōfukuji Temple comments that, in the past, nobody gave warriors high rank to reward good

[391] *Nagatobon,* 2:91.
[392]Anne Commons has commented on the Taira establishing their own poetry circle at court, challenging the sovereignty of the traditional Fujiwara poetry circle in an attempt to increase their own courtly influence. Commons, "The Heike Poets."
[393] Nakamoto, "Kakuichi-bon 'Heike Monogatari' ni okeru Taira no Munemori-zō," 73.
[394] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:83; McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 46.

service, and that this error of judgement has led to the Taira running the country as they please.[395] There are also comparable scenes where Munemori reacts to deception; for example, his angry letter to the court accusing them of duplicity following the attack at Ichinotani.[396]

It is significant to examine a potential allusion to the Realm of Beasts, or *Chikushōdō*, from Pure Land Buddhism, given the role of horses, and the context of the story. An influential work on the Realm of Beasts is the monk Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*, which outlines the actions and characteristics in people that indicate the Realm into which they will be reborn.[397] The Realm of Beasts is one of the three lower Realms in the rebirth cycle, and Genshin states that, in this Realm, the weak and the strong harm each other (強弱相害す).[398] This conduct can be found in the Konoshita dispute, but in the form of damaging court gossip, rather than physical injury, spread without remorse or conscience (what Barbara Ambros terms 'the unwholesome mental state of doing evil without regret').[399] After Nakatsuna lies about Konoshita's location, Munemori's retainers tell him that the horse is still in Nakatsuna's possession. Once Munemori knows of the deception, he is driven to retaliate. Equally, when Munemori uses Konoshita to mock Nakatsuna, this gossip is spread back to Nakatsuna, creating his desire to launch a rebellion. The actions of the unnamed retainers and court gossips are key in understanding the peripheral behaviour in this scene. This metaphor of mutual harming is not just enacted in terms of Munemori (strong) and Nakatsuna (weak), but also by the nameless retainers (weak) towards the named masters (strong). These 'masters' subsequently initiate a conflict, which ultimately puts the nameless retainers at risk of their lives and livelihoods. The descent into war is thus abetted by the sinful action of spreading and reacting to harmful rumours. With the exception of the *Nagatobon*, where Nakatsuna observes that his obsession with Konoshita must be karma from a previous life, there is no expression of remorse from any of the participants in this debacle.[400] Ambros mentions that some Buddhist imagery of Hell represents horse and ox-headed demons flaying sinners and beating them as though they

[395] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:54–55.
[396] For a detailed analysis of this letter, see Watanabe, *Jūei genryaku no kassen to eiyūzō*, 85–170.
[397] Saeki, *Kenreimon'in to iu higeki*, 164.
[398] *Ōjōyōshū*, 32.
[399] Ambros, "Animals in Japanese Buddhism," 253.
[400] *Nagatobon*, 2:122.

were animals.[401] This association in a scene centring on disrespect, greed and a lack of responsibility thus gives the horses another sub-textual inference – they represent the sins of warriors harming one another in their quest to raise their standing. In this way, the horse is utilised to present personal ambition as a form of misconduct within the scene, which the text duly criticises.

A Retainer's Duty: The Loyal Service of Watanabe Kiō

One further participant in the Konoshita dispute remains worthy of analysis, not least because the role he plays in the story is both pivotal and much more nuanced than his appearance in other versions of the text. This is Watanabe Kiō, Yorimasa and Nakatsuna's loyal retainer. The *Kakuichibon* titles the entire story, including the Konoshita dispute, as simply 'Kiō'. By doing so, it sets Kiō up as the overall hero, and his triumph is the climax of the scene. This same emphasis is present in later adaptations; the Nō play *Fukui Takiguchi* presents Kiō as deliberately fooling the 'gullible' Munemori by pretending to switch sides, only to take the horse and cut its hair, branding it with Munemori's name. While there are minor differences, the play has Kiō brand Nanryō, and also mentions Munemori cutting Konoshita's hair, both elements that can be found in the *Kakuichibon*.[402]

The *Genpei Jōsuik*i describes Kiō with terms of hyperbolic praise. He is the core of the Watanabe, an unmatched archer, and the most beautiful man at the palace. Nonetheless, this description, coupled with Munemori's clear desire to 'own' him, makes him appear as a possession, like Konoshita, rather than a hero. This angle presents the scene as a continuation of a dispute over assets between the Minamoto and the Taira. Munemori has long since coveted Kiō, watching him go back and forth at night to his nearby dwelling. As with Konoshita, Munemori had sent frequent messages, this time to Yorimasa requesting Kiō, but without success. In contrast to the hero of the *Kakuichibon* scene, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* Kiō does not intuitively understand Yorimasa's reasons for leaving him behind. Although he has no affection for the Taira, after being given gifts from an eager Munemori, he debates whether he should change sides:

> Kiō thought, "Even though he thought so much of me, [Yorimasa] didn't tell me of his plans, and that is truly regrettable. It is hard to refuse such single-minded generosity from the Major

[401] Ambros, "Animals in Japanese Buddhism," 254.
[402] *Shin Yōkyoku Hyakuban*, 287–88.

> Captain. They say that you should wear today's flower in your hair.[403] I'd like to do that, but I'm still conflicted over what happened, certain that there must have been a reason I wasn't told the plan."[404]

Ultimately, he reminds himself of two Chinese stories about loyalty to a master, and thus decides he must go to Miidera and re-join Yorimasa and his family.

> "There is a saying that 'a subject does not serve two masters, and a wife does not serve two husbands'. Su Wu, even when threatened with having his legs cut off, refused to swear allegiance to the Hun army. Ji Xin pretended to be the Emperor Gaozu, and, acting as a decoy, sacrificed his life for his Lord. How can I now abandon my Lord and serve the Heike instead? I would be sacrificing my reputation until the end of time!"[405]

Kiō's hesitation in this scene offers a slightly different interpretation of his purpose in the story. Far from being the triumphant and cunning operator who sets out from the start to deceive Munemori, he is a disadvantaged retainer who, presented with gifts and showered with attention, may be tempted to change sides. He also appears more of a contested object than an instigator in this interpretation. The *Kakuichibon* gives Kiō active involvement in a battle between Nakatsuna and Munemori, but in the *Genpei Jōsuiki,* Kiō's thoughts and actions are much less defined, and his choice to steal the horses and run to Miidera more impulsive. Even when he reaches Miidera, Kiō demands to know why he was left out of the original summons, showing his doubts, whereas the *Kakuichibon* Kiō is merely triumphant in his apparent victory.

Genpei Jōsuiki's Kiō offers a moral lesson on fidelity in both his hesitation and then his reiteration of his obligation to Yorimasa, even should Yorimasa forsake him. His internal debate on his prospects and the impact on his standing includes concern about being seen as abandoned by his original master, as well as being viewed as a thief for stealing Munemori's horses. Ultimately, however, Kiō chooses to retain his bond with Yorimasa, because it is his obligation to do so and that takes precedence. This allegiance is cemented by the branding of Kokasuge. Unlike other texts, where Munemori's horse is branded on Nakatsuna's orders, in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Kiō decides to follow this course of action on his own. Although branding is a negative act, by framing it within the context of avenging his lord's honour, Kiō escapes criticism. The

[403] I.e "go with the flow."
[404] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 3:49.
[405] *Genpei Jōsuiki,* 3:49.

mutilation and return of Kokasuge demonstrates to Munemori that Kiō's loyalty cannot be bought by fine horses, or rich court lords.

By reviewing his doubts, and demanding clarity from his allies, Kiō's ultimate decision to follow Yorimasa appears more persuasive. He represents the importance of retainers being loyal to their masters and not raising rebellions or changing allegiances, even in the face of bribery or disadvantage. This ideology is not uncommon in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and appears in other stories, such as that mentioned in Chapter One regarding the warrior Shigemitsu. Kiō's purpose, like Shigemitsu's, is to demonstrate that a retainer's duty is to one's lord, even if this ultimately leads to death or dishonour. Shigemitsu avenges his lord and takes his own life but is unable to disprove the slanders against his name. Kiō rejects the chance of promotion and safety in Munemori's retinue, becomes a horse thief and ultimately dies in battle at Uji Bridge. Despite their tragic fates, both individuals are presented as loyal, and thus are memorialised as such, in spite of the failure of their respective lords to achieve victory in battle.

The overt emphasis on Kiō as a hero figure is a theme predominately found in the performance line of texts, although there are exceptions. The nineteenth century abridged *E-iri* illustrated version of *Genpei Jōsuiki,* known as *Genpei Seisuiki Zue,* includes only the section relating to Kiō, omitting the other parts completely.[406] The scene is illustrated, presenting a rare image from this overall exchange.

[406] *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, 1843, 2:19–22.

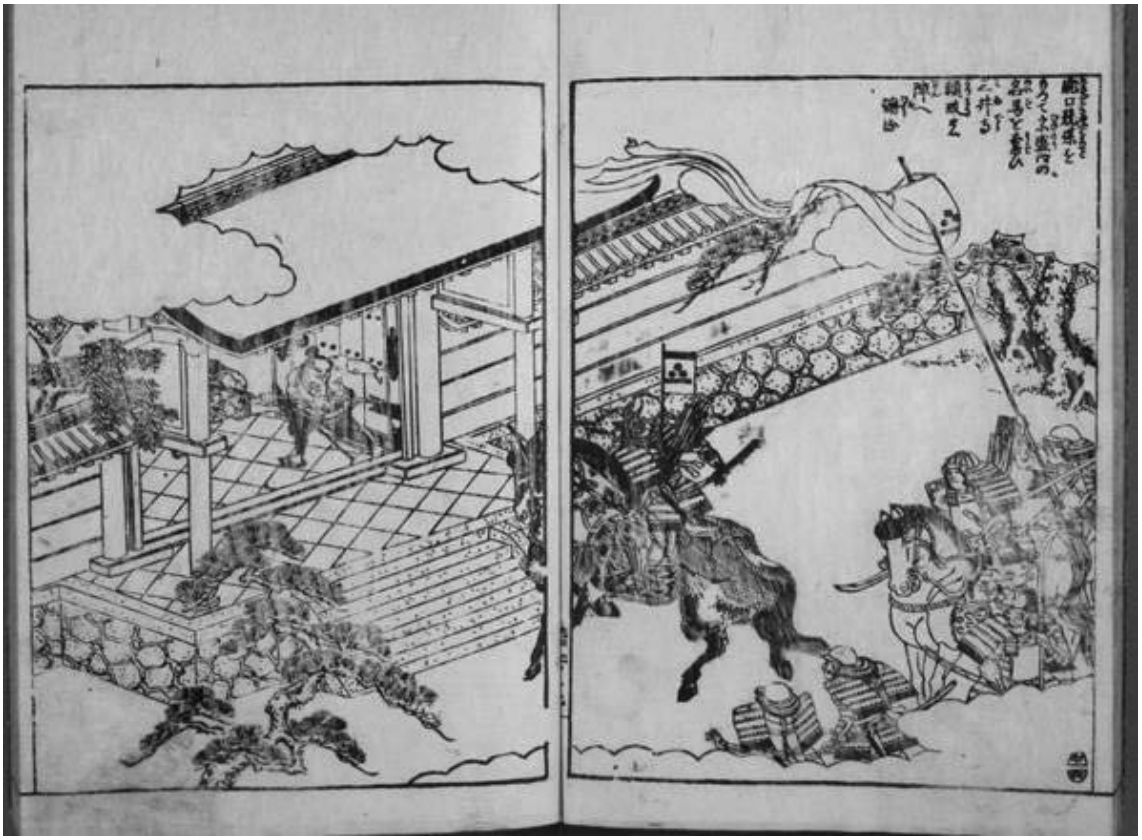

Fig 21: Watanabe Kiō rides past Rokuhara on the stolen horse, Kokasuge. Genpei Seisuiki Zue (1843)

The omission of the remainder of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s Konoshita story, however, suggests that, in order to present Kiō as heroic, the other nuances of the tale must be omitted. Kiō cannot be both a hero and a possession, and his loyalty to Yorimasa cannot be overshadowed by the criticism made of the rebellion and the sinister warnings about horses. The illustration, placed at the start of the scene, shows a triumphant Kiō riding past Munemori's gate without dismounting. This choice of illustration reinforces the idea of Kiō's forward momentum and his control over the scene, emphasising his strength rather than his doubts about Yorimasa's motives or his moment of wavering loyalty.[407] It also reinforces the idea that Taira rank is invalid and thus normal conventions of dismounting to convey respect need not be applied. Printed in Osaka in 1843, this symbol of defiance towards the military establishment was produced shortly after a failed anti-Bakufu protest in the city, led by former official Ōshio Heihachirō in 1837, and as stringent political changes, through the Tenpō Reforms, were being

[407] *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, 2:19.

attempted by the government to prevent such uprisings.[408] Its timing may also have been included as pro-Imperial propaganda leading up to the Bakumatsu, in a similar manner to that of *Kokushiryaku*, mentioned earlier in the chapter. Even if the motive was simply to paint Kiō in a more heroic light, this image, and the altered title of the scene to include his name, suggests a different intent from that of the complete *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. It might be hypothesised that, by the nineteenth century, when the Tokugawa government's hold on society was weakening, the values that had promoted collective state loyalty over individual ambition were no longer so prevalent in people's minds, making Kiō's story one of rebel heroism against the system, rather than that of a loyal retainer knowing his place in the hierarchy.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, although there is no historical record of the Konoshita dispute ever taking place, it is nonetheless a vital part in the construction of the history of the Genpei War. Transformed and rewritten to suit different time periods and different audiences, the symbol of Nakatsuna, Munemori, and the horses involved in the dispute have remained relevant in the public consciousness over subsequent centuries. The Konoshita story remains apocryphal history, and its significance lies not in the Genpei period itself, but in its utilisation in the centuries that followed. The construction of this story through different *Heike* variants, and particularly in *Genpei Jōsuiki,* helps to construct the legitimacy of the Minamoto war effort with the benefit of hindsight, allowing subsequent governments to build on these foundations and justify their own military rule. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'*s* intent to censure personal gain and advocate for action only in the common good leads its account to criticise even members of the ultimately victorious Minamoto family. By doing this, I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki* also legitimises Yoritomo by segregating him from any suggestion that his military action is motivated by private ambition, instead presenting him as acting only in the good of the nation.

Promoting these ideas of absolute loyalty to one's lord, and critical of acts of personal ambition, *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises the horses in this scene to convey both transitions of power and influence between individuals and to warn against the dangers of pursuing individual desires. By casting Konoshita as a 'suspicious steed unparalleled

[408] Cullen, *A History of Japan, 1582-1941*, 164.

beneath heaven', *Genpei Jōsuiki* gives the horse a sinister role in the outbreak of war, placing responsibility on Konoshita for the downfall of Yorimasa and his family. Unlike other variants, which principally focus on human participants, *Genpei Jōsuiki* sees the horses as equally important in the construction of events. The popularity of this story, which acted as a catalyst not only for the Genpei War in the minds of later generations, but also for the legitimisation of the Minamoto cause overall, appears to have been especially prominent in times of political unrest. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s particular attention to rank and the hierarchy advises readers that it is better to know one's place and function as part of a greater society, rather than trying to overreach one's position in search of greater reward. The moral lesson provided by the stories of Mu and Wendi help to reaffirm the idea of fighting only for the common good; ideas especially resonant in the turbulent years of the late sixteenth century.

Genpei Jōsuiki's use of themes of centre and periphery in this story help to demonstrate the fluidity of status of both Minamoto and Taira families at this point before the start of war. Using horses like Tōyama and Konoshita as connectives, it is possible to understand this tale as set in a period of transition, where old ideas of central and peripheral power bases were beginning to change. This is particularly reflected in Tōyama's ultimate inclusion in Nakatsuna's military force, potentially symbolising the warriors of Izu Province who turned against their Taira overlords to support the Minamoto cause. The story of how the Genpei War began is a complex tale brought to life through the symbolic representation of horses and the humans to which they are connected. I argue that, by understanding the complex themes present in the Konoshita story, we gain a greater awareness of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s overall message that acting in the common interest and with absolute loyalty to one's lord is imperative. In this text, horses are used to convey to the reader that acts of personal ambition, no matter who carries them out, only lead to destruction and ultimately, the contempt of future generations.

Chapter Three:
Takatsuna, the Horse Thief: Legitimacy, Loyalty and Hierarchy

Introduction

In the previous chapter, my analysis focused on the 'villainous' behaviour of Minamoto no Yorimasa and his son, Nakatsuna, and how the story of a dispute over Nakatsuna's prized horse, Konoshita, resulted in the destruction of their family and the descent into civil war. This chapter will focus in more detail on the giving, receiving, or taking of a horse, whether by force or otherwise. Far from always bringing a warrior's downfall, horses can be used in these scenarios to transform a warrior from a peripheral and dangerous 'other' to a central figure, validating acts of theft, murder and deception in the name of a greater cause. Just as the previous chapter examined how horses can be used destructively, the scenes analysed in this chapter demonstrate how these animals are utilised to reinforce Yoritomo's supremacy in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, exposing complex ideas relating to hierarchy during the political confrontations of 1184.

The previous chapter also touched on how hierarchy and loyalty were used to underscore the legitimacy of the future Shogun Yoritomo's military objective. In this chapter, I will expand on these ideas in more depth by examining two stories closely associated with one of Yoritomo's most celebrated retainers, Sasaki Takatsuna (1160-1214). Like Nakatsuna and Yorimasa from the previous chapter, Takatsuna's representation over the centuries has varied, but unlike Yorimasa's family, Takatsuna is usually presented as a hero figure, and the differences in representation reflect altered emphasis on the important points of his story through different time periods.[409] His tale was told through both art and drama over the centuries, and even appeared prominently in the 1942 Pacific War text, *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*. This text included abridged tales from the *Heike Monogatari* (and was heavily influenced by *Genpei Jōsuiki*). The author, Hiruma Kyōsuke, also cites Takatsuna twice in his introduction to the book. By directly paralleling the actions of Takatsuna in the battles of Ishibashiyama (1180) and Uji River (1184) with alleged incidents from the Pacific War, Hiruma appears to use Takatsuna as a role model for the young people of the 1940s, demonstrating his values

[409] One exception can be found in the Meiji period text *Innen Hyakuwa* (1910) which criticises Takatsuna for lying to Kagesue in the interests of personal gain, and suggests that this act was in contradiction of Buddhist values. *Innen Hyakuwa*, 320–29.

of absolute loyalty and self-sacrifice in the face of certain danger. By using Takatsuna as this ultimate symbol of loyalty, Hiruma also draws a connection between the great warrior deeds of the past and those of the Pacific War, establishing Japan's military pedigree. Only one other individual, Hatakeyama Shigetada, is named in this introduction, but his inclusion is not as emphatic as Takatsuna's, where Hiruma states:

> In the war in North China, a sole surviving and exceptional (Japanese) warrior, just by protecting the cannon at the gate, managed to hold off the advance of the main enemy army. **Sasaki Takatsuna, at Ishibashiyama, fought a lone defensive battle to save Yoritomo's life…** In Shanghai, Guangzhou Harbour, and Corregidor Island, the resolve to die before the enemy as our forces disembark is just **like the courageous image of the warrior [Takatsuna] who pushed forward to cross the River Uji first**, paying no mind to being caught in the midst of a barrage of screaming arrows."[410]

The Sasaki family were among the first warriors to pledge their allegiance to Yoritomo's cause, and this, coupled with their steadfast loyalty to Yoritomo through hardship, may be the reason why Takatsuna has been so singled out for his loyalty and bravery. *Genpei Jōsuiki* also gives Takatsuna special attention among his brothers and kinsfolk. According to the *Azuma Kagami* entry, only the two elder Sasaki brothers arrived at Yoritomo's base to pledge allegiance on horseback; Takatsuna himself was on foot.[411] In spite of this, *Genpei Jōsuiki* not only depicts him arriving in triumph to Yoritomo on horseback, it elaborates the point, explaining how Takatsuna came by this horse. This scene, *Sasaki Takatsuna Steals a Horse and Leaves the Capital,* (hereafter referred to as the 'Horse Thief' scene) appears in book nineteen of the text and is set around the time of Yorimasa's initial call to arms. This story, discussed in detail in the first section of this chapter, does not appear in any other version of the *Heike Monogatari*. It depicts the transition between Takatsuna as a politically peripheral figure on foot and his emergence as a warrior on horseback.

The other scene of relevance to this Chapter relates to Yoritomo giving horses to Takatsuna and his rival, Kajiwara Kagesue. It appears in book thirty-four, and has the rather long and awkward title, '*News of the Eastern Army's Horses, Sasaki receives Ikezuki, the matter of Zō-Ō Taishi's Elephant*" (hereafter referred to as the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene). Ikezuki and Surusumi are two of the better-known equine characters

[410] *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*, 1–2.
[411] *Azuma Kagami*, 1:23.

from the *Heike* corpus overall, and both Takatsuna and Kagesue are familiar to audiences as the participants in a race to cross the Uji River first. This competition, which occurs before the battle of Uji River, appears in most variant texts of the *Heike Monogatari*. This battle is a pivotal one in the Genpei War, as it is a rare encounter between two armies of the Minamoto – one commanded by Yoritomo, and that led by his cousin, Yoshinaka, who has betrayed Yoritomo's trust by stealing his thunder and entering the capital first.

Genpei Jōsuiki utilises the Genji versus Genji confrontation to remind readers of its overall hierarchy of power between factions. On hearing of Yoshinaka's rebellion, and, fearing a union between Yoshinaka and the Taira, Yoritomo commands his men to "…first, strike down Yoshinaka…and, after that, you should destroy the Heike."[412] Yoritomo prioritises removal of Yoshinaka before hunting down the Taira family. This implies that Yoritomo sees his cousin's military offensive as a greater threat to his own authority, and thus one which must be neutralised at once, whereas the Taira can wait until later. By making this distinction, *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that Yoshinaka is a more difficult enemy to overcome. In fighting Yoshinaka, Yoritomo cannot simply use anti-Taira rhetoric to summon his forces. Instead, he must rely on those warriors who he considers the most trustworthy. Moreover, Yoshinaka's skill in battle supersedes that of the Taira, and so those that Yoritomo sends to Uji River must be worthy of fighting in his name, in order to bring about the necessary victory. Prior to this battle, Yoritomo chooses to give two of his prized horses away to Takatsuna and Kagesue, both prominent retainers. The battle to cross the river first thus becomes a gesture of ultimate honour and loyalty to Yoritomo, as well as a way for these individuals to establish their names as heroes.

The scenes depicting the receipt of these two famed horses, and the race known as the *Ujigawa Senjin* (First Across the River Uji) are separated in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, forming part of a bigger collection of scenes describing preparations leading to this battle. The popularity of the *Kakuichibon* performance version of the *Heike Monogatari* text has led to the *Senjin* scene being studied for its dramatic quality and artistic language. As Makino and Kami point out, the *Kakuichibon* uses vivid, descriptive prose and onomatopoeia to create a visual image of the contest as a spirited and hard-fought

[412] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:155. All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise credited. A full translation of the sections analysed in this chapter can be found in the Appendix.

event.[413] The *Kakuichibon* does not, however, explore the reasons why Yoritomo chose to award these particular horses to his retainers before the crossing. This decision-making process helps to expose how a text uses horses to construct both a hierarchy and create a position of legitimacy for the warriors depicted, and as such, is vital to understanding the power structures at work in this scene. Rather than focusing on the artistry of the crossing itself, therefore, my analysis centres on this decision-making process. The lack of inclusion of this aspect in the *Kakuichibon* makes it less useful for analysis in this chapter. Instead, I principally rely on accounts contained in variants belonging to the same family of texts as the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, such as the *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon*, which contain Yoritomo's rationale for giving the horses. I argue that it is more logical to compare *Genpei Jōsuiki* with other texts that detail Yoritomo's motives, rather than relying heavily on the performance text simply because it is well known.[414]

When evaluating the existing scholarship relating to this study's case study scenes, it soon became apparent that, although occasionally cited by scholars like Nakamura Rie, there has been little discussion on Takatsuna's theft of the merchant Kinosuke's horse, much less analysis of the themes contained within the scene.[415] Most scholarly analysis centres on the river crossing anecdote. This emphasis is influenced by reliance on the *Kakuichibon* which, as previously cited, prioritises the dramatic elements at the expense of detail found in other variants. Kameda Kinuko and Ōgawa Nobuko have focused on the representation and depiction of specific characters involved in this *Senjin* narrative – Kameda on the Sasaki family, and Ōgawa on the Kajiwara.[416] Some academics highlight the lack of attention towards other variants. Kami Hiroshi, writing in 1973, concludes his article by saying that more work needs to be done to explore the diverse personalities of the different variants and their depiction of scenes like the *Senjin*.[417] Despite this, Kosukegawa Ganta, in 2012, bemoaned the fact that there is still such a heavy dependence on the *Kakuichibon* version of the scene,

[413] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 171; Kami, "Heike Monogatari 'Ujigawa Senjin' o Megutte," 5.
[414] This scene also appears in the 1592-3 printed Jesuit *Amakusabon Heike*, formulated in romanised Japanese based on a Portuguese syllabary. Analysis of the scenes contained in Chapter Two and Four of this thesis has suggested that this text contains strong similarities to the *Kakuichibon* text. In this scene, however, the *Amakusabon* bears a stronger resemblance to the accounts contained in the *yomihonkei* versions of the text. I will, therefore, draw on references to the *Amakusabon* where parallels can be made in the footnotes of the chapter. The *Amakusabon* extract can be found in *Feiqe Monogatari*, 228–37.
[415] Nakamura, "Yoritomo Gyōhei Tankō."
[416] Kameda, *Azuma Kagami to Chūsei Monogatari*; Ōgawa, "Kajiwara-Shi o Megutte."
[417] Kami, "Heike Monogatari 'Ujigawa Senjin' o Megutte," 14.

suggesting Kami's hopes have not been realised.[418] This chapter is therefore an attempt to begin closing this gap, to create a more balanced understanding of how other texts tell these stories.

Most existing comparative studies contrast the *Engyōbon* and *Kakuichibon* depictions, rather than other textual variants.[419] Constructing academic discourse around the *Kakuichibon* scene's limited framework, however, makes expansive comparisons with the other variants more difficult.[420] I intend to conduct analysis across less well-known versions in the manner recommended by Kami in 1973, and reinforced by Kosukegawa in 2012.

An evaluation of existing literature and base texts suggest further that there also has been little study of the equine involvement in these scenes, or the potential relationship between horses and other key structural themes presented within these texts.[421] I intend to demonstrate how the *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses horses to represent themes of legitimacy and loyalty, both in establishing hierarchies and underpinning authority. I will establish how the horses are used to present these ideas alongside the justification of perceived 'misconduct', and how *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises apparent criminal acts, such as theft and murder, to demonstrate positive attributes like absolute loyalty and self-sacrifice for the honour of one's lord. In Chapter Two, I argued that *Genpei Jōsuiki* justifies Yoritomo's military action as being in the common interest, and thus distinct from the personal ambition of his relatives. In this chapter, I will show that Takatsuna's acts of murder, theft and deception are superseded by his overall loyalty to his lord, ultimately making him a hero worthy of receiving Yoritomo's prized steed Ikezuki.

[418] Kosukegawa, "Ihon de Yomu 'Heike Monogatari,'" 49.
[419] For example Amy Franks, Makino Atsushi and Kosukegawa Ganta all focus on the *Engyōbon*. Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike'"; Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi"; Kosukegawa, "Ihon de Yomu 'Heike Monogatari.'"
[420] Amy Franks' PhD thesis, for example, focuses on the *Engyōbon* as her base text, drawing on the *Kakuichibon* as her main comparison text, while Kami addresses several other variant texts from the yomihonkei strain, but uses the Kakuichibon text's structure to form the basis of his comparative tables. Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike'"; Kami, "Heike Monogatari 'Ujigawa Senjin' o Megutte," 7–8.
[421] One exception is Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi." Makino discusses the themes of strong horses and in particular the idea of Yoritomo as a distributor of powerful steeds.

Section I: Takatsuna, the Horse Thief: Murder for the Sake of the Realm.

The story of Takatsuna's horse theft offers an insight into the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s portrayal of warrior legitimacy, invoking ideas of warrior figures as both central and peripheral entities, between which the horse forms a connective. The previous chapter showed how horses were used to link men with war. In this story too, Takatsuna's acquisition of a horse allows him to cross Japan to join Yoritomo, from which point his military journey begins. Takatsuna's theft of the horse in this story also demonstrates not only the way in which it forms an integral part of warrior status and position, but that perceived criminal actions can be nullified in the interests of a greater cause. This section demonstrates that even actions such as murder and theft can be considered gestures of fealty, marking an individual out for praise, rather than censure.

The Story of Takatsuna, the Horse Thief

The story of Takatsuna stealing Kinosuke's horse appears within book nineteen of the *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Keen to join Yoritomo's rebellion, Takatsuna leaves the capital but, being without a horse, and unused to travelling on foot, he makes very little progress. During his wanderings, he meets Kinosuke, a travelling merchant from his own home province of Ōmi, who happens to have a horse. Takatsuna persuades a reluctant Kinosuke to lend him the horse, but once he has mounted the animal, he realises that he wants to keep it. Afraid that Kinosuke will shame him by denouncing him as a horse thief, Takatsuna decides to kill Kinosuke and steal the horse, vowing to carry out religious rites for the man after Yoritomo's victory. He kills Kinosuke, takes the horse and rides at great speed to join Yoritomo in Izu. Yoritomo is pleased, praises Takatsuna and asks him to summon his brothers to join Yoritomo's cause, which Takatsuna subsequently does.[422]

The 'Horse Thief' scene involves Takatsuna using Kinosuke's horse to cross Yasu River, an inclusion which could be understood as an attempt to foreshadow the later events of the Uji River crossing. Although Kinosuke advises Takatsuna that the river is not deep or dangerous and that it is quite easy for him to cross on foot, Takatsuna still insists on using the horse. In Chapter Four, I address the way in which the *Genpei Jōsuiki* constructs a small-scale version of the *Denka Noriai* scene prior to

[422] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:36–39.

the main tale, and I argue that its inclusion helps to draw political events back in time by approximately ten years. In this case, however, the scene's inclusion does not alter the timescale in which the events happened. Instead, it acts as the reader's introduction to Takatsuna and the Sasaki family, framing them from the outset as stalwarts of Yoritomo's military uprising. The well-known nature of the *Ujigawa Senjin* scene may also have contributed to the construction of this parallel, as it would have given readers a taste of the dramatic events to come. Rivers and bodies of water act as barriers or obstacles to warriors throughout the *Heike* corpus variants, and this appears to be another example whereby a river is used to challenge Takatsuna's ability to overcome it.

While other variant texts mention the Sasaki brothers rallying to Yoritomo's cause early in the campaign, no other text goes into as much detail to explain Takatsuna's means of arrival. The *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon*, for example, cover the subject in a few lines, and there is no mention in either text of a horse or a merchant called Kinosuke.[423] In fact, even the name Kinosuke itself may be a clue to the real underlying meaning of the scene, as it is written with the characters for 'chronicle' and 'mediator', 紀介. This choice of name suggests that Kinosuke, his horse, and the events that the *Jōsuiki* describe are textual devices designed to lay the groundwork for Takatsuna as a character. The story appears to be a deliberate connective designed to influence the reader's idea of Takatsuna as an individual both loyal to Yoritomo and associated with horses from the very first moment he appears. Although absent from other *Heike* variants, it seems probable that it was once a prominent and well-known part of Takatsuna's tale, particularly throughout the Edo Period. The mid-nineteenth century text, *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, an abridged and illustrated printed version of the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, not only chooses to include this story, but also to number it among one of the handful of illustrations.[424]

[423] *Nagatobon*, 2:228; *Engyōbon*, 5:259.
[424] *Genpei Seisuiki Zue*, 1843, 2:52.

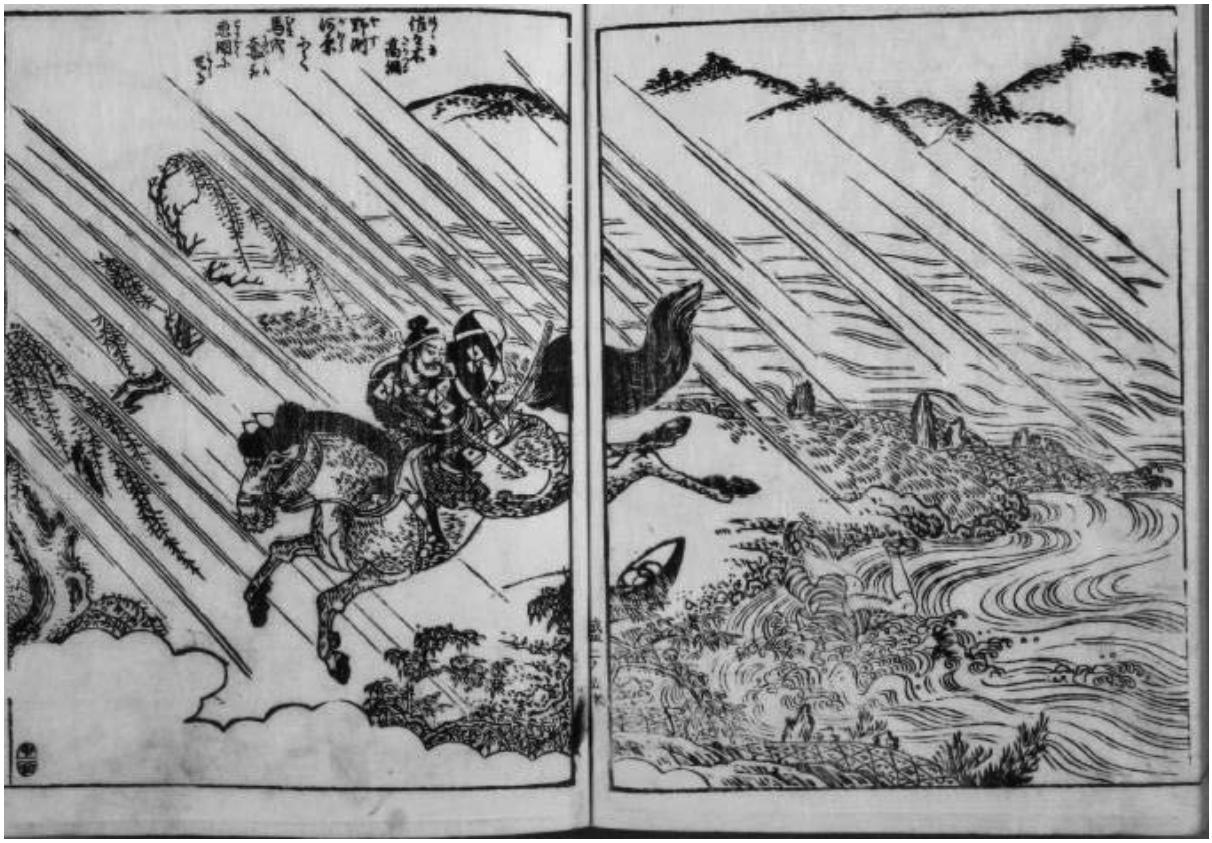

Fig 22: Takatsuna's theft of Kinosuke's horse and murder of its master.
Genpei Seisuiki Zue (1843)

The prominence of this story in the Edo period may relate to Takatsuna's continued presentation as a hero. Takatsuna's tale of the horse theft also underpins the story of a 1913 *shin-kabuki* play by Okamoto Kidō, entitled *Sasaki Takatsuna*.[425] Okamoto's use of Takatsuna's theft, his feelings of remorse and his resentment towards Yoritomo may be designed to reflect the dissatisfaction of the Japanese people following the unpopular settlement of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5. More importantly, Okamoto's decision to use this story, woven in with other references to Takatsuna's life, indicates that it was once more widely known than it is today. By the time of the Pacific War, when Takatsuna is drawn forward as a role model by Hiruma Kyōsuke, the story had all but disappeared, and the idea of horse theft is something the *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki* criticises.[426] This change in perception towards theft and heroic behaviour may help explain why the story is little studied in post-war

[425] *Meiji Taishō bungaku zenshū*, 48:227–40.
[426] *Shōkokumin Genpei Kassenki*, 88–89.

scholarship, as it jars with the traditional idea of the dashing and cunning hero of the Uji River crossing.

The *Genpei Jōsuiki* account of Takatsuna's theft and subsequent arrival in Izu contradicts other source material relating to his involvement in the Genpei War, such as the *Azuma Kagami* description of his arrival at Yoritomo's base, mentioned in the chapter introduction. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s decision to add not only a horse, but a dispute over its ownership that results in a murder requires closer scrutiny. *Genpei Jōsuiki* also gives Takatsuna particular prominence by presenting him as the first brother to answer the call to arms. Kami suggests that the equine connection relates to representations of later generations of the Sasaki family, who are depicted with horses in the fourteenth century War Tale, *Taiheiki*.[427] While true, it does not explain why the *Genpei Jōsuiki* includes a scene not present in other *Heike* variants. The inclusion of the horse appears to be a vital element in conveying deeper textual ideas about rank and hierarchy, which form an integral part of the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s evaluation of Takatsuna, and which I will now explore.

Loyalty and Legitimacy

In Chapter Two of this thesis, I addressed the critical way in which the *Genpei Jōsuiki* approaches the dispute over the horse Konoshita. In that example, Nakatsuna and his father go to war following the effective theft of Nakatsuna's precious horse, Konoshita. Nakatsuna's behaviour is criticised, as his actions are perceived to be in the interests of settling a personal grievance, rather than for the good of the realm. By contrast, although the 'Horse Thief' scene depicts Takatsuna stealing a horse from an innocent bystander, the text's moral compass here appears to point in a different direction. From the start of the account, we are introduced to Takatsuna in a positive light. He is said to be fine and sturdy of heart and body – terms also sometimes used to describe horses.[428] The strong relationship between the Sasaki family and that of Yoritomo is also explained near the beginning of the scene, appearing much earlier in this textual variant than in many of the others.[429] By describing Takatsuna's strength and

[427] Kami Hiroshi discusses the representation of Sasaki Dōyō Takauji in the *Taiheiki*, a War Tale text which tells the complex story of the political shifts in power and influence in the mid fourteenth century. Kami, "Heike Monogatari 'Ujigawa Senjin' o Megutte," 12–13.
[428] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:36.
[429] The *Engyōbon*, *Nagatobon*, and *Amakusabon* texts all mention Takatsuna's relationship with Yoritomo's family in the scene involving Ikezuki and Surusumi, discussed later in this chapter, although

the long-term loyal service rendered by his family to Yoritomo's, the reader is already prepared that his actions will doubtless be in the interests of his lord. Sure enough, Takatsuna receives the news of Yoritomo's rebellion with joy, and immediately sets out from the capital to join the cause, even though he has no horse and is not used to travelling on foot. All of these factors present Takatsuna as a loyal retainer willing to undergo hardship and self-sacrifice, even putting himself in danger in order to reach a lord in exile.

The significance of past bonds between the Minamoto and Sasaki families is important, because Takatsuna would be too young to remember the last time the Minamoto were a prominent political force, twenty years previously.[430] His actions are entirely born out of an understanding that loyalty transcends generations, and that these bonds are established by birth, a factor that supersedes any immediate political considerations. Reinforcing this concept, Yoritomo says to Takatsuna when he arrives:

> "My late grandfather, the Rokujō Hōgan [Tameyoshi] and your own father, Lord Sasaki [Hideyoshi], had a vow between them that was as close as that of father and son. On account of this, they relied on one another and were never distant from each other. Being one fallen from grace, I had not remembered this, but in spite of that, you came here to me, without my having even needed to ask. This is exceptionally impressive."[431]

The *Genpei Jōsuiki* contradicts itself in describing Sasaki family loyalties. In the opening lines of this scene, the text mentions that Takatsuna's father, Hideyoshi, was a loyal ally of Yoritomo's father, Yoshitomo, and had gone into hiding following the Heiji Uprising of 1160.[432] Within a few lines, however, the *Jōsuiki* makes the startling claim that Hideyoshi and Yoritomo's grandfather, Tameyoshi, had had a bond as close as father and son. This is significant, as Yoshitomo and Tameyoshi fought against one another in 1156, a conflict that led to the deaths of Tameyoshi and most of his other sons. *Genpei Jōsuiki* glosses over this awkward family history. Its choice to connect Takatsuna's father, Hideyoshi, to both Yoshitomo and Tameyoshi shows an intent to depict the Minamoto cause as unified. Through Hideyoshi's loyalty, it implies that really Yoshitomo and Tameyoshi were fighting for the same cause, which is ultimately

not all texts frame the Sasaki's hereditary loyalty to the same individual – some favour Yoritomo's father, and others his grandfather.

[430] Takatsuna is thought to have been born in or around 1160.

[431] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:38.

[432] 4:36.

the cause that Yoritomo has now taken on. A reference to Tameyoshi later in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* helps to reinforce this, as it suggests his rebellious actions were in fact unavoidable obedience to an Imperial Edict.[433] *Genpei Jōsuiki* navigates around the rift within the Minamoto family, and conveys again the idea of absolute loyalty to one's lord, even at personal expense.[434] By doing this, the text creates a false impression of unity between Minamoto family members stretching back into previous generations. As the last chapter demonstrated, actions associated with personal ambition are viewed in a negative light in this text, and as such, eradicating any personal motivation on the part of past Minamoto is necessary to underpin the legitimacy of Yoritomo's present cause. As will also be discussed in Chapter Four, the text additionally shows an intent to connect the events of 1180 to those of 1156 and 1160, times when the Minamoto were more politically prominent. By suggesting unification between Tameyoshi and Yoritomo, *Genpei Jōsuiki* additionally establishes important precedents of Minamoto loyalty to Imperial commands. This legitimises Takatsuna's decision to join Yoritomo's campaign as an expected act of fealty to one's true lord, all of which is framed under the bigger picture of loyalty to the Imperial throne.

Kawai Yasushi has pointed out that, following the destruction of the Genji in 1160, former Minamoto retainers had adjusted to circumstances and had shifted their loyalties elsewhere.[435] *Genpei Jōsuiki* alludes to this:

> …[Takatsuna] observed the customs of the world and paid due respect to the Taira… Because they were all living in a world where things changed from day to day, Takatsuna had decided that it was better to let things lie and so lived quietly with his aunt.[436] When he heard that Yoritomo was planning a rebellion, however, he thought this was a very happy matter indeed. He asked for time away only from his aunt and nobody else, and then slipped away in secret to the country.[437]

As can be seen in the above quote, the *Jōsuiki* mentions Takatsuna's involvement with the Taira, but presents him as biding his time, waiting for the Minamoto to return. This

[433] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:87.
[434] A similar technique to gloss over family conflict is used when dealing with Yoritomo's cousin, Yoshinaka. Although Yoritomo ultimately destroys Yoshinaka, his principal reason for raising arms against his cousin stems from Yoshinaka's destructive behaviour in the capital, not from any personal grievance. Yoshinaka also openly denounces the idea that he might harbour any resentment for Yoritomo over the murder of his father by Yoritomo's brother, stating that the cause to destroy the Heike is more important than petty vengeance. *Genpei Jōsuiki* 5:120–25.
[435] Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 138.
[436] According to the text this was Tameyoshi's sister.
[437] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:36.

indicates that it is not exile or political disgrace that is preventing Takatsuna from rallying to Yoritomo's cause, but rather he is waiting for Yoritomo to give the word – and as soon as that word comes, he acts. This allows the defection of traditionally Minamoto retainers since Yoritomo's exile to appear unavoidable. The text creates the impression that they are at Yoritomo's disposal, merely filling time until the Minamoto should rise again, rather than looking for better opportunities under the Taira regime.[438] As Yoritomo's reaction to his arrival shows, Takatsuna's loyalty is to be commended. His decision to kill Kinosuke is framed as a small indiscretion in the pursuit of a bigger cause; an act of violence founded in fealty as he seeks to return to his original master. When Kinosuke requests his horse back, Takatsuna's reaction privileges the interests of his lord and the overall cause, rather than the immediate fate of a man he has only just met. The text explains:

> [Takatsuna] dismounted, but in the back of his mind was the knowledge that it would be hard to reach the provinces without a horse, and so he wondered what he could do about it. He reasoned that, when Yoritomo's world had dawned, he would have Ōmi province for his own. In that case, he would be able to offer prayers for Kinosuke's future rebirth. Thinking this, he decided to stab the man to death and take the horse.[439]

Takatsuna's preoccupation with reaching Yoritomo's side and the urgency of that situation is clearly evident. His behaviour transmits to the reader a sense that his journey is also more important than that of Kinosuke, and thus his need for the horse is greater.

Although not explicitly stated, Takatsuna's attitude towards his quest suggests his belief that Yoritomo will not be able to bring about this 'new world' without his participation. Takatsuna's bravery following the subsequent Ishibashiyama battle inspires Yoritomo to promise him half of Japan as a reward once the war is won, again reinforcing Takatsuna's vital role in Yoritomo's success by making an offer which, ultimately, would see them stand as equals over Japan.[440] Such an exaggerated and improbable reward (which as the text states, never happened) demonstrates the strong relationship between Yoritomo's success and that of Takatsuna, binding the ideas of

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[438] This world view is corroborated later in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, at the battle of Ishibashiyama, in a verbal exchange between Yoritomo's father in law, Tokimasa, and former Minamoto retainer, Kagechika, who now is fighting for the Taira. Tokimasa harangues Kagechika for his dereliction of duty towards the Minamoto. The fact that Tokimasa, formerly a Taira, has abandoned his own obligations to that family also helps to underscore the military hierarchy, with Yoritomo at the top.
[439] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:38.
[440] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:72–73.

lord and retainer as two mutually supportive entities who both benefit from working closely together. This promise of a reward can be seen in the 'Horse Thief' scene, in Takatsuna's thought processes. Although the war has not yet really begun, Takatsuna assumes that, when it is over and Yoritomo has won, he will be rewarded with political power over Ōmi Province. This framing of Takatsuna's essential role in Yoritomo's 'new world' helps to validate his decision to kill the individual standing in his way, a decision he justifies with the internal vow to offer religious rites for Kinosuke once the war is over.

The unquestioning way in which Takatsuna – and thus the text – not only assumes that Yoritomo will win, but that his cause is a just one helps to persuade the reader that the murder of Kinosuke is a minor inconvenience within the narrative frame of a much bigger overall goal. Takatsuna's assumption that he will receive power over Ōmi Province appears self-interested, but the way in which the text frames this idea demonstrates that he expects to earn that reward through distinguished military service in the name of his lord. Courage and loyalty even in adversity, such as that subsequently demonstrated at Ishibashiyama, will place him higher up in the military hierarchy. This presents the first view to the reader of Yoritomo's perceived 'new world' order, which will operate more as a meritocracy based on military service. *Genpei Jōsuiki* implies that handsome rewards and positions of authority are available for those who demonstrate courage and exceptional loyalty to their lord's cause. The *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that Yoritomo's will must take priority over other matters, even if it means severing the life of an innocent stranger, but that a loyal retainer can also expect to reap just reward for his diligence and service.

A Criminal Act? Kinosuke's 'Evil Happening' and the Loyalty of his horse.

Takatsuna's detached perspective on killing Kinosuke is contrasted strongly in this scene with worry about being thought a horse thief. While he uses religious rhetoric (the offering of rites for Kinosuke) as justification for committing murder, the idea of being known as a thief is extremely shameful:

> "Ah, if only I had this horse, I would be able to get to the provinces quickly," Takatsuna thought, but Kinosuke was begging for him to return the horse, and Takatsuna realised,

> "If I don't dismount, then he will shout out that I have stolen his horse." Takatsuna did not want that to happen. "If that occurred, it would end up in a shameful situation."[441]

Takatsuna's preoccupation with not being seen as a thief is strange considering that at no point in this scene has he given out his name. Being in possession of the horse at the time he has these thoughts, it would have been very easy for him to simply ride away. Kinosuke would have had no means to follow him, nor any way of identifying who had stolen his horse and, as the text goes on to explain, the creature is strong enough to reach Izu in a day. Moreover, in a later scene, Takatsuna claims that he has stolen Ikezuki, even though he has not. Given those circumstances, there is no reason for Takatsuna to fear being called a thief, and there is an apparent contradiction between this attitude and the later one. The narrative does not appear to want Takatsuna to be seen in this light, and it seems to consider this theft to be different from Takatsuna's claim in the later scene. The alleged theft of Ikezuki will be discussed in a later section of this chapter, but in terms of Kinosuke's horse, the *Jōsuiki* appears to be telling the reader that murder is acceptable, because religious rites can be performed in the victim's memory, but while theft can sometimes be justified, being identified as a thief (rather than as a warrior) is shameful.

Takatsuna's murder of Kinosuke exonerates his theft of the horse by removing the risk of being caught and labelled a thief. More than this, however, by removing his rival, Takatsuna assumes *ownership* of the horse, and therefore control of the power needed to reach his lord in Izu. If Kinosuke remains alive, the horse has two masters. *Genpei Jōsuiki* is heavily critical at several points about warriors who have such conflicting loyalties.[442] Horses are also frequent participants in battle narrative, often mentioned in conjunction with their human counterparts in a way that implies they are almost retainers themselves. In Chapter Two, Kiō's doubts about his lord's motives are quelled when he remembers that a man should not serve two lords. When Yoshinaka is compelled to send a hostage to his cousin Yoritomo, he does so in order to prove that he has no loyalties other than his obedience to this one lord.[443] By killing Kinosuke, Takatsuna symbolically makes the horse loyal to only one master – himself – and thus part of Yoritomo's campaign. The horse's loyalty is therefore also represented here. The

[441] *Genpei Jōsuiki* 4:37–38.
[442] See *Genpei Jōsuiki* 4:60.
[443] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 5:123.

horse proves a reliable mount and allows Takatsuna to reach Izu at speed. It is likely that this beast is also a subsequent sacrifice to Yoritomo's cause, as Takatsuna's receives Ikezuki before the battle of Uji River because he has run his own steed into the ground. As a warrior should not serve two lords, a horse should also not serve two masters and, as a warrior should give his life for his lord, so a horse should sacrifice his for his master. The *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents the horse entering into the hierarchy of lord and retainer.

In this scene, the horse demonstrates a transfer of power and forward momentum between Kinosuke, whose life and story ends, and Takatsuna, whose fame and adventures are just beginning. It creates a contrast between the existing world, and the 'new' one that Yoritomo is about to establish, hinted at in Takatsuna's thoughts and expectations. Kinosuke is an early victim of the Genpei War, which crosses all corners of Japan and through which battle, fire, famine and plague will devastate many lives. Takatsuna's actions move the story from one type of society to another, because he transforms a trader's horse into a warrior steed. Once in his possession, Takatsuna discards Kinosuke's goods and changes the horse's saddle at Musa into one more befitting a warrior. Kinosuke's horse becomes a war horse, just as the world is shifting irreversibly into that of the warrior.

Kinosuke's thoughts help to present the events of this story as a necessary process towards a better society. Although initially mistrustful of Takatsuna and his motives, the merchant concludes that 'if I do not lend [my horse] to him, I feel something evil might occur.'[444] Ultimately, the act of lending the horse to Takatsuna directly leads to Kinosuke's death, suggesting that the 'evil' occurred *because* he chose to give in to Takatsuna's requests. By including this thought right before Kinosuke loses both his horse and his life, however, *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that Kinosuke's fear is for a bigger 'evil' event - for example, the failure of Yoritomo's plans, the continuation of Taira society and the eventual extinguishing of the Minamoto cause. Kinosuke seems to feel compelled to lend the horse to Takatsuna even though it ultimately means his death. The 'evil' conveyed in Kinosuke's thoughts is the voice of the text, telling the reader the importance of Yoritomo's ultimate success at any cost. Kinosuke's sacrifice is also representative of the hardship that will be faced by ordinary people of Japan during the

[444] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:37.

Genpei War. More than many other variant texts, the *Genpei Jōsuiki* reflects on the impact of the war on the common folk at several junctures.[445] Through Kinosuke's fear of 'evil' beyond that of his own death, *Genpei Jōsuiki* implies that, while the common folk will suffer during the war, a greater suffering will come if the war does not happen. Takatsuna's unwillingness to be labelled a horse thief demonstrates that this is clearly a criminal act. His 'misconduct', however, is cancelled out by the need to prevent something worse from taking place. In summation, theft and murder (and ultimately war) are necessary acts in order to bring about the end of the Taira regime (the real 'evil'), putting in place a new Minamoto government, which will ultimately benefit everyone. The association of evil with the Taira cause appears throughout the different *Heike* texts, but is particularly strong within *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Four.

Status and the Horse: Hakamadare and Takatsuna

The use of the horse in the 'Horse Thief' scene demonstrates effective shifts of status, both for Kinosuke and Takatsuna. At the beginning of the scene, although the reader knows Takatsuna's pedigree, we are told that:

> …because he was a man of no rank in society, [Takatsuna] didn't have a horse. Because of this he dressed as a man of low means, wearing a straw hat and cloak…[446]

The text explicitly states Takatsuna has no position in the current society, and directly connects that fact with his lack of a horse, demonstrating the close connection within the *Jōsuiki* account between the ownership of a horse and political power or status. Takatsuna's decision to dress as a poor person also reflects the *Jōsuiki*'s preoccupation with using the visible appearance of an individual to convey their current position. This theme is particularly strongly used in the *Denka Noriai* scene addressed in Chapter Four of this thesis, where the Regent, Motofusa's elaborate regalia is reduced to the shameful appearance of a commoner following the attack of Kiyomori's retainers. In the 'Horse Thief' scene, Takatsuna chooses to adopt the guise of a poor man from the outset. In spite of this, Takatsuna's behaviour marks him out to be someone of more importance, as, on meeting Kinosuke, he offers the man rewards for allowing him to use the horse.

[445] For example, Yoshinaka allows his horses to feed on the crops of the common folk, despite their protestations, stating that a warrior needs a good horse for battle. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:127.
[446] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:36.

Kinosuke's apprehension at this promise is well understood given Takatsuna's mean appearance:

> Kinosuke thought,
> "I don't know why this man is so eager to borrow my horse. He's walking barefoot, and I have no idea who he is. How can I expect a reward from a man who cannot even robe his own body adequately?"[447]

Once Takatsuna has the horse in his possession, however, he already considers it his own steed and begins to plan how to keep it in order to get to Izu. From being an unknown individual, barefoot and suspicious, he is now a warrior in the saddle whose appearance is not even commented upon when he reaches Yoritomo in Izu. Before Takatsuna leaves the capital, he fears calling on anyone for help in case it alerts suspicion but, once he has stolen Kinosuke's horse, he shows no hesitation in requesting a saddle from his acquaintance in Musa on his journey to join Yoritomo. In stealing the horse, Takatsuna gains legitimacy as a warrior and thus is no longer afraid to be seen, even though he obtained the horse through subversive means.

We can see Takatsuna's act in comparison to a similar tale in the *Konjaku Monogatari*, a text believed to have been compiled around the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[448] This story depicts a thief called Hakamadare, who transforms himself into a military leader on account of his ability to steal a horse from an unsuspecting warrior.[449] On being released from prison, Hakamadare has nothing and nowhere to go. Consequently, he decides on a plan of action; he will play dead in the middle of the road and wait for someone to rob. His victim turns out to be an unnamed warrior, riding alone. On seeing Hakamadare, he stops to prod the 'corpse' with his bow. Hakamadare reacts by grabbing the bow, pulling the man off his horse and killing him, stealing all his belongings. The victim becomes literally the 'corpse' that Hakamadare pretended to be, while Hakamadare now has all the possessions of the victim, and, as such, has obtained his status. Riding the stolen horse gives Hakamadare positive forward momentum, and soon he gathers allies to form a retinue. Hakamadare has, by force,

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[447] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:37.
[448] The exact date seems to be disputed. McCullough suggests 1120, Kelsey around the year 1000, Jones posits a date of 1075. The *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* edition provides more detail, putting forward the idea that, based on records, it might have been constructed in the 1080s or 1090s. McCullough, *Classical Japanese Prose*, 271; Kelsey, *Konjaku Monogatari-Shū*, Preface; Jones, *Ages Ago; Thirty-Seven Tales from the Konjaku Monogatari Collection*, ix; *Konjaku Monogatari Shū (1)*, 33:518.
[449] *Konjaku Monogatari Shū (1)*, 33:337–38.

become a 'warrior', and the text supports this conclusion with its description of Hakamadare's departure, telling us that 'riding on the horses, when the group of twenty or thirty men left the capital, they did not meet anyone who could oppose them.'[450] There are strong similarities between this story and that of Takatsuna and Kinosuke. Like Hakamadare, Takatsuna appears poorly robed and inferior at the start of the story, a man without rank or status and of whom Kinosuke is suspicious. Like the unnamed warrior, Kinosuke loses his horse, and ultimately his life and belongings as a result. While Takatsuna does not quite make a full transition from corpse to warrior in the 'Horse Thief' account, he begins the scene in a politically peripheral position, with no rank or social importance. By appearing in common clothes and walking barefoot, he is essentially as 'naked' in status as Hakamadare, if not quite as literally unclothed. By taking the horse, Takatsuna is able to transition from this peripheral and suspicious 'other' figure to a more central and publicly acceptable warrior individual who can openly call on his associates for help without fear of arrest or reprisal, even though he is plotting to join a rebellion. In both cases, taking a horse, even by force, allows the victor to attain status. Neither Hakamadare nor Takatsuna can be stopped in their quest once they have obtained the horse, and neither the unnamed warrior, nor Kinosuke, have any future once they have lost their animals. Although their origins and ultimate goals are different, both Takatsuna and Hakamadare become more acceptable to society once on horseback.

The story of Hakamadare and the case of Takatsuna suggest once more that the concept of central and peripheral status is highly fluid when dealing with warrior representation. Both Vyjayanthi Selinger and David Bialock have addressed questions of the warrior in terms of central or peripheral status. Selinger highlights comparisons between thieves and warriors, suggesting that they inhabit the same liminal status as the 'other' versus the central court, while Bialock argues that peripheral themes, especially in narrative terms, can be appropriated into the centre, effecting a fluid status between centre and periphery.[451] The story of Takatsuna, and that of Hakamadare, imply that Bialock's thesis is the most appropriate explanation here. Both Hakamadare and Takatsuna begin at the periphery but end in a central position by obtaining a horse, and thus a sense of status beyond the point they began. This is especially true in the case of

[450] 「馬に乗せて、郎等二三十人具したる者にてぞ下蹴れば、会ふ敵無き者にてぞありける。」 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū (1)* 33:338.
[451] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 161,163-4; Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 290.

Takatsuna, whose theft occurs within a War Tale text. War Tales, by their very name, imply that they exist to tell the stories of warriors and conflict, rather than focus on court and capital. This is particularly true when dealing with *Genpei Jōsuiki*. While the importance of Imperial legitimacy (as discussed in the previous chapter) cannot be ignored, the main focus of this account is the righteous cause of Yoritomo to form the shogunate and heal Japan's government. This approach demonstrates that, for *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Yoritomo's cause is 'central', and by joining it, Takatsuna also enters the centre – but he is only able to do this by becoming a warrior and for that, he has to obtain a horse.

Takatsuna's legitimacy in the 'Horse Thief' scene depends heavily on his ability to keep possession of Kinosuke's horse once he has obtained it, but, after he reaches Izu, there is no further doubt about his position as one of Yoritomo's trusted retainers. Moreover, far from being suspicious, wild, or 'other' in his behaviour, Takatsuna, by swearing loyalty to Yoritomo, has become a formal part of the hierarchy. While a thief is answerable to nobody, and observes no laws, a retainer is subject to his lord's rules and commands, placing him within a broader framework of control and obedience. In this scene, the close connection between such representations and equine involvement is also apparent. Takatsuna, despite his birth and his pedigree, does not truly become a warrior in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* until he kills Kinosuke and obtains his horse.

In conclusion, the inclusion of the 'Horse Thief' scene in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* offers many lines of interpretation. By presenting the hierarchy early in the scene, the text privileges Yoritomo's position above all other military leaders, and thus creates a natural assumption that Takatsuna's loyalty to Yoritomo supersedes any criminal activity he undertakes in order to join his lord. Yoritomo's praise for Takatsuna's loyalty makes no mention of the murder of Kinosuke, and the text does not criticise it, suggesting that any deed carried out in the name of one's Lord or in the interests of his cause can be justified. The scene also offers the incentive to loyal retainers that their service will likely result in due reward once the conflict is over. The *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents an unequivocal expectation that Yoritomo's success is a foregone conclusion, and that anything that might prevent it from taking place is potentially an 'evil happening', as Kinosuke's apprehensions display. Yoritomo's cause thus supersedes even Kinosuke's own concern for his life.

The horse in this scene, while unnamed, acts as a significant plot pivot for the status transition of the characters, providing a catalyst for the events that will follow. By obtaining Kinosuke's horse, Takatsuna reasserts his position and pride as a warrior, and thus joins Yoritomo's retinue. By killing Kinosuke, he ensures that the horse also has no competing loyalties. As seen with the example of the Hakamadare scene, the obtaining of a horse acts an effective status transition, creating the concept of a warrior as the central and respectable entity, irrespective of the individual's origins. These accounts suggest that a thief plus a horse can become a warrior, but by taking Kinosuke's mount, Takatsuna also demonstrates that a warrior without a horse can become a thief. In this way, warriors can inhabit both central and peripheral positions in the text, with the horse acting as the pivot transferring the character from one state of being to the other. The *Genpei Jōsuiki* extract shows that, far from being a man defined purely on his victory in the *Ujigawa Senjin*, Takatsuna's dependence on and relationship with horses for status and success is a continuous process throughout his depiction in the Genpei War. This assessment adds further evidence of how important equine representation is in the interpretation of its accounts.

Section II: Ikezuki and Surusumi

The lengthily titled scene "*News of the Eastern Army's Horses, Sasaki receives Ikezuki, the matter of Zō-Ō Taishi's Elephant*" appears in book thirty-four of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* and depicts the giving and receiving of horses between a lord and his retainers. While Ikezuki and Surusumi are the main horses featured in this scene, *Genpei Jōsuiki* introduces nineteen separate named steeds in the opening section of the account, indicating once again the heavy emphasis this text places on equine involvement. This section will, therefore, examine the significance of these horses to the overall story, leading into a more in-depth analysis of the Ikezuki and Surusumi exchange. It will draw additionally on other *yomihonkei* 'read' texts, such as *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon*, to compare and contrast how this story is formatted. This evaluation will help form a clearer understanding of the intended message contained within the *Genpei Jōsuiki* account because, although lacking the same emphasis on the horse, many of the key points in *Genpei Jōsuiki* are also found in the *Nagatobon*, and the *Engyōbon* account contains significant differences which will be discussed directly. My analysis will focus on the accounts in these texts, using *Genpei Jōsuiki* first and foremost as the basis for this discussion.

Analysing the roles of Ikezuki and Surusumi in the equine hierarchy allows examination of the liminal status given to Ikezuki and its implied superiority over the other equines present. I argue that this usage demonstrates the relationship between the equine and military hierarchies, allowing an examination of Yoritomo's decision-making process and its consequences. In order to better understand the relative positions of Minamoto superiority and Taira inferiority raised in the first section of this chapter, I intend to look particularly at the treatment of Kajiwara Kagesue, a retainer of Yoritomo's who was formerly a Taira partisan. The section will conclude with an examination of the account of Zō-Ō Taishi, or the Elephant Prince, an anecdote included in the *Nagatobon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* texts. Looking at the themes of theft and loyalty addressed in this chapter will conclude with an overall assessment of the significance of this 'moral tale' in context with the obligations of a warrior retainer to his lord.

The Eastern Army's Horses: Nineteen Beasts and Counting

The heavy equine involvement in this scene is clear from the title, which specifically mentions the horses belonging to the eastern warriors. The Chapter Two scene discussion identified fourteen separate horses, although only a few are named. In contrast, this scene contains nineteen different named horses. This list does not appear in other variants, and the initial group of sixteen horses and their owners reads as follows:

> A resident of Kazusa Province, Suke no Hachirō Hirotsune, came bringing a horse called Iso (Seashore)[452]. An individual from Shimotsuke Province, Chiba no Suke Tsunetane, brought a horse called Usuzakura (Light Cherry Blossom)[453]. A resident of Musashi Province, Hirayama no Mushadokoro Sueshige, brought a horse called Mekasuge[454] (Eye Roan). From the same province, Shibuya no Shōji Shigekuni brought a horse called Shishimaru (Little Lion). Hatakeyama Shōji Jirō Shigetada brought the horses Chichibu Kage[455] (Chichibu Deercoat), Ōguro[456] (Great Black), Hitozuma[457] (Man's Wife), and Takayama Ashige[458] (Takayama Dapple). From Sagami, Miura Wada Kotarō Yoshimori brought the horses Kamo no Uwage[459] (Over the Kamo) and Shiranami[460] (White Waves). Hōjō Shirō Tokimasa, from Izu Province, brought a horse called Araiso[461] (Windswept). Kumagai Jirō Naozane brought the horse Gonta Kurige[462] (Gonta's Chestnut). Taishōgun Kurō Onzōshi (Yoshitsune) brought Usuzumi (Light Charcoal) and Seikaiwa[463] (Blue Sea Wave). His brother, the Kaba no Onzōshi (Noriyori) brought the horses Ichikasumi[464] (First Mist) and Tsukinowa[465] (Moon Ring).[466]

Many of these horses have names relating to water, nature or the coast, which perhaps foreshadow the impending crossing of the River Uji, a river itself known for its liminal

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452 磯
453 薄桜
454 目糟
455 秩父鹿毛.
456 大黒
457 人妻
458 高山葦毛
459 鴨の上毛
460 白浪
461 荒磯
462 権太栗毛
463 青海波
464 一霞
465 月輪
466 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:156.

qualities.[467] More significant warriors in this group, like Yoritomo's brothers Yoshitsune and Noriyori, also bring more than one horse. Although the idea of a warrior possessing multiple horses is not strange, the prior discussion makes clear that these are not ordinary horses, but ones powerful and significant enough to be able to cross the fast-flowing waters at Uji and Seta:

> "The river is deep, and the current is wild and rough. It is not a river that the average horse is able to cross…. We should gather our best horses, cross at Uji and Seta, and make a good name for ourselves."[468]

This superiority is reaffirmed with the summation of the list of named horses, which states:

> These horses were all beasts that could move freely in all directions and at the top of their game. Like the six swift dragon horses that pulled the carriage of Haikai[469], their strength matched that of lions or elephants, and their speed was like that of the blowing wind.[470]

The reader is invited from these exaggerated descriptions to feel that these are horses with the potential to transcend the mundane. Their distinctive qualities resemble those described in the scene analysed in Chapter Two, where Nakatsuna's horse Konoshita is held up as an exceptional example of a prized horse. Unlike in Chapter Two, however, where the nature of Konoshita's superiority is adjudged 'suspicious' and heavily criticised, these horses are being praised for their strength and qualities. The dispute over Konoshita's ownership helps to turn a peaceful situation into a war, suggesting that such famed horses act as triggers for conflict and thus belong on the battlefield. For the horses in Yoritomo's encampment, battle is already unavoidable, and so the skills of these special beasts (or perhaps, 'suspicious steeds' now come into their own. This implication that powerful horses belong in a war situation can also be inferred from the preceding analysis of the 'Horse Thief' scene, as Takatsuna converts the merchant's horse into an effective war horse capable of crossing vast distances in a short space of time.

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[467] Makino argues that the horse, traditionally associated with the element of fire is in this scene effectively in conflict with the water of the Uji River, making the crossing a contest between the two. Naming horses after water sources may therefore be an indication on the part of the rider to capture the essence of the enemy before the battle even begins. Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi."
[468] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:156.
[469] See Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 181.
[470] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:156.

The above list of sixteen horses does not include Yoritomo's own animals, mentioned a little later in the scene. In keeping with the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s theme of maximising equine involvement, however, Yoritomo has three horses, rather than the two normally attributed to him in most versions of the story. These horses are described as follows:

> There remained three cherished horses. These three were called Ikezuki (Man-eater), Surusumi (Inkstone) and Wakashiroge[471] (White Coat). These horses had come from Mito, in Michinoku.... They were strong and sturdy, with substantial coats and hair. These horses had strong noses that were capable of sniffing out a particular person.[472]

By placing these animals at the end of a substantial list of other horses, their position in the 'equine hierarchy' can be inferred as superior. Although the horse Wakashiroge does not appear in any other text and is never mentioned again, Ikezuki and Surusumi go on to be heavily discussed. There is no distinction being made here between the status of these three horses, just that they are all superior and, apparently, possessed of exceptional senses and instincts. This is significant, as, later in the text, Surusumi and Ikezuki will be directly compared, both with each other, and with the other horses within the Minamoto encampment. The establishment of an equine hierarchy helps to put in place ideas relating to a military one, which will be addressed later in this chapter.

The previous section of this chapter addressed the themes of centre and periphery with regard to the warrior and the thief. Themes of centre and periphery can also be found in the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene, but here they relate more to physical location than transitions of individual status. As mentioned in Chapter One, the horse is effectively used in *Genpei Jōsuiki* to demonstrate geographical positions, such as the example of Mochizuki, and the nest of mice in his tail. In this story, Mochizuki and the mice both represented different directions, symbolising the movement of peripheral Minamoto forces into the capital. In this section, too, similar ideas are conveyed using horses. Yoritomo's own three horses are singled out in particular for their alleged origin in Michinoku, the 'far north'. This connects them with land far from the capital, making them appear peripheral and adding to the idea that they are somehow special and

[471] 若白毛
[472] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:157.

different.[473] Although *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not list the birthplaces of most of the horses in this section, there are other examples in the text where the geographical origin of a particularly special horse can be traced back to the far north – most notably Tayūguro, whose story was also examined in Chapter One. While not directly stated by the text, it can be inferred by the origins of the warriors that own them that the remainder of the horses described in the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene come from the eastern provinces, along with their masters. The warriors, like the horses, are also from the geographical periphery. By preparing to enter battle at the Uji River, close to the old capital of Nara and the current capital of Kyoto, these provincial warriors are about to enter the geographical centre, an action made possible by long hours riding their powerful horses. Although Uji itself is not the capital, the ultimate goal of Yoritomo's army, as expressed in the opening of the scene, is to reach Kyoto and 'soothe the Retired Emperor's anger'.[474] In order to do this, the warriors must directly encroach onto traditionally 'central' territory held by the court. The implication here, as with the 'Horse Thief' scene analysed above, is that a shift in the structure of government is approaching. By physically entering a traditionally central sphere, Yoritomo's 'new world' of the shogunate can finally come into play, ultimately bringing forth the age of warrior rule and effective government from Kamakura. Yoritomo can thus be seen as creating a new centre in the east, drawing power and influence away from Kyoto and the court and making the Imperial centre into a political periphery. The increasingly weakened status of the traditional 'centre' is also made apparent in the *Heike Monogatari* corpus texts through the forced removal of the capital and its practices and rituals to Fukuhara (Kobe), which, while temporary, helped to destabilise several hundred years of political continuity in Kyoto. This action, while organised by the Taira enemy, sets a precedent that dictates that a warrior family can forcibly remove political power from Kyoto and establish it elsewhere.

The *Engyōbon* version of the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene includes additional dialogue relating to an exchange of horses between two warriors called Sueshige and Hirotsune. Sueshige, expecting to die in battle, asks Hirotsune to give him a horse he has always coveted. Hirotsune, while treasuring the horse, admires Sueshige's

[473] Alexander Bay has discussed the shifting state of central and peripheral status in the far north, where societies were differentiated based on whether they used horses or not. Bay, "The Swift Horses of Nukanobu."
[474] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:155.

resignation to die in the fight, and realises that he should not remain attached to the steed. Consequently, he grants Sueshige his request, and Sueshige enters the battle riding this horse.[475] Amy Franks has suggested that this inclusion was an attempt to placate the soul of Hirotsune, who had been executed by Yoritomo prior to this encounter.[476] As Makino and Franks have both observed, Buddhist ideology plays a dominant role in the *Engyōbon* version of the *Heike* text.[477] This rhetoric about attachment and religious ceremony is present in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, albeit sometimes superficially, as reflected in Takatsuna's decision to offer rites for the murdered merchant Kinosuke once the war is over. Instead of focusing on a story about attachment and the willingness of Sueshige to die in combat, the *Jōsuiki* prefers to privilege the power and superiority of the horses themselves. The horse, Mekasuge, is presented as being with Sueshige from the start, and this conversation about ownership is omitted. The overall emphasis is more equine, highlighting Kagesue's determination to compare his steed to all of the others. Rather than relying on Buddhist philosophy to underpin the scene, the narrator privileges the horses themselves, allowing the reader to understand that what follows in the battle is only possible because of these precious and special steeds.

Ikezuki and Surusumi: Liminality and Hierarchy

The horses singled out by name to cross the river are exceptional steeds, and, of this group, the most important appear to be those in Yoritomo's possession. Examining the roles of Ikezuki and Surusumi and how these two horses are presented in the text helps to construct ideas of an equine hierarchy that parallels that of the warriors, and which sometimes traverses into otherworldly or liminal traits. In Chapter Two, Konoshita was a suspicious steed capable of bringing about war, and in Chapter One, Tayūguro crossed from the world of the living to that the dead in order to accompany Tsugunobu. Although none of these horses in this scene are introduced as inferior, most variants (including *Genpei Jōsuiki*) place significant emphasis on Ikezuki, who also possesses special 'other' characteristics, as well as stories connected to his origins.

[475] *Engyōbon*, 9:24–25.
[476] Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike,'" 70–71.
[477] Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi," 181; Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike,'" 73.

Ikezuki's name is written in various ways in different sources. Three versions are particularly prominently used, and these are as follows:

Name Kanji	**Meaning**	**Provenance**
池掬	Lake Scooper	Originally from the north of Japan in an area where fishing was done on horseback. Fished in "Shijifuri" lake (also known as the 'Lake of Hell'). (*Engyōbon*)[478]
池月	Lake Moon	Following the death of his mother in a lake, Ikezuki leapt over the water several times looking for her and so was given this name by locals who witnessed his actions. (Tourist Information, Mima, Tokushima Prefecture) [479], *Sasaki Takatsuna* (shink-kabuki) play[480]
生食　(生嗟)	Man-eater	Ikezuki known to bite and/or devour men and horses, thus known by this name (*Genpei Jōsuiki*[481], *Engyōbon*, *Nagatobon*[482], and sundry other variants)

Fig 23. Table of different meanings for Ikezuki as seen in different source material.

Whether by entering the 'Lake of Hell' and evoking ideas of the Six Realms, searching for his dead mother in his own reflection on the lake's water, or devouring people and horses, all of the meanings displayed in *fig. 28* help to frame Ikezuki as a horse connected to the divide between life and death (just like Tayūguro's crossing to the Underworld, mentioned above). By contrast, Surusumi's name is explained pragmatically by the fact that he is a black horse, and thus named for the colour of ink.

[478] Makino Atsushi has discussed this in some detail, including other examples of horses and water in conjunction with their liminal status. See Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi."

[479] http://www.city.mima.lg.jp/kankou/kankouannai/shiru/0015.html Accessed 25th October, 2017. The name of the town is written with the characters for 'beautiful horse', indicating a strong investment a story which has evolved beyond the pages of the *Heike* corpus texts. In the Mima account, Ikezuki was born in Yoshino, not in Michinoku.

[480] *Meiji Taishō bungaku zenshū*, 48:227. The play also writes the name as 生月

[481] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:157.

[482] *Nagatobon* renders the name as 池すき but explains the reason for the name as being because Ikezuki was known to bite/devour people and horses. *Nagatobon*, 4:6.

Surusumi's inferiority is also hinted at in the fact that he does not appear in all variant texts – in the *Engyōbon* he is replaced by Usuzumi.[483] Although the *Engyōbon* asserts that Ikezuki only bit those he did not like or consider worthy, and never enough to kill them, neither of these qualifying statements are made in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* account.[484]

While *Engyōbon* tries to mediate the uncanny elements of Ikezuki's representation by adding a story about his loyal service to a particular master, *Genpei Jōsuiki* takes a different approach, making this horse stand out from the others through the following account:

> Just past the middle of this area, there was a flat spring field[485], and Ikezuki, being a horse with more than average courage, was trembling with anticipation. He let out three neighs, then a fourth. Because the sound was as clear as a temple bell, it could even be heard echoing a whole two *ri* away.[486]

The previous chapter discussed how Konoshita's neigh was represented as having liminal qualities, connecting the horse directly with the descent into war. In this scene, Ikezuki's call is compared to the resonance of a temple bell, ringing out across the countryside. At this moment, Ikezuki is at the main camp, and is surrounded by other horses and warriors preparing for the fight ahead. It is unlikely that his neigh would have been easily heard above the commotion. By singling it out, the narrator suggests that Ikezuki has the divine power to reach the ears of people far away. The opening phrases of all versions of the *Heike* corpus mention the ringing of the Gion Shōja bell echoing with impermanence. The comparison between Ikezuki's cry and a temple bell suggests that the sound may preclude the imminent death of warriors gathered at the camp, as well as the impending destruction of Yoshinaka's position of power in the capital.[487] As the Chapter Two analysis demonstrated, *Genpei Jōsuiki* directly connects the cry of a horse to the violence of warriors in battle. In the same way, Ikezuki's cry forewarns readers of the bloodshed approaching. The greedy Taira have been driven from their exalted lifestyle in Kyoto, and now Yoshinaka too will fall, having also

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[483] *Engyōbon*, 9:23. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, this horse is ultimately renamed Tayūguro.
[484] *Engyōbon*, 9:41.
[485] The word used here is 平々 which may indicate that this is a motif for trampling on the Heike, foreshadowing battles to come beyond this one.
[486] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:163.
[487] This echoes Bonjour's assertions about the 'beasts of battle' found in Anglo-Saxon literature, discussed in the introduction of this thesis. Bonjour, "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle."

overstepped the mark and upset the court.[488] Ikezuki – the horse which straddles the line of life and death, and which devours men and horses – is reinforcing the idea that those who push beyond their means will ultimately be destroyed, whether they be Genji or Taira. In the *Genpei Jōsuiki* context, where Yoritomo features at the top of the military hierarchy, this means that any who conflict with Yoritomo's aims will ultimately be brought to ruin. Ikezuki's cries thus create a miniature version of the text's opening phrases, indicating that it is not only the Taira who are subject to the laws of impermanence. This is supported by the name '*Genpei Jōsuiki'* itself – 源平盛衰記 – suggesting in its compound use of kanji that it is a record of the rise and fall of *both* Taira *and* Minamoto (in the form of Yoshinaka), not simply the rise of one and the fall of another.

Unlike the *Engyōbon*, which simply seeks to make Ikezuki a liminal entity, *Genpei Jōsuiki* manipulates this other-worldly status by using it to bolster the prestige and reputation of one of Yoritomo's other warriors. The text continues:

> Hatakeyama Shigetada, hearing [the horse's call], wondered "Well, what's this? That's Ikezuki's cry. Who could have received that horse and brought him here?" His retainer, Narikiyo raised doubts about this.
> "In this large military force, there are countless fine horses. Surely it could be any of those beasts you heard? It must surely be so. Besides, I heard that Ikezuki was requested by both Kaba-dono (Noriyori) and Kajiwara (Kagesue), and they were both rejected. That being so, who could have been given Ikezuki?"
> Thinking that this must be the case, people around laughed, agreeing with him. But Hatakeyama said, "I never mistake a sound once I have heard it. I do not know who received the horse, but I do know that was the sound of Ikezuki's call, so bear that in mind."
> While Hatakeyama was making this observation, Ikezuki emerged from the eastern side of the area, needing six retainers to lead him…Seeing this, all agreed that the gods had vindicated Hatakeyama.[489]

Hatakeyama Shigetada is able to discern the sound of Ikezuki's cry from a distance away, whereas his retainer, Narikiyo, cannot. Significantly too, although Ikezuki was originally pastured on the western side of the encampment, this account has the horse emerge from the east, synonymous with the geographical origin of Yoritomo's campaign. Ikezuki appears more than ordinary in this depiction, and the uncanny ability

[488] *Nagatobon* more explicitly parallels the evil deeds of the Taira and Yoshinaka, claiming that they are essentially the same. 「義仲…平家の悪行にもをとらず」 *Nagatobon*, 4:3.
[489] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:163.

to identify him also marks Shigetada out as an impressive warrior. This status is reinforced during the *Ujigawa Senjin* river crossing. Shigetada plays a key role in getting his allies across the water, and, when his own horse, Onikurige, is injured, Shigetada takes the beast's front legs over his shoulders, carrying it across the river instead.[490] Shigetada's ability to cross the dangerous flowing current marks him out as exceptional, while his unwillingness to abandon his horse reinforces the mutual relationship between rider and mount, a similar hierarchical relationship of mutual loyalty and benefit to that of lord and retainer mentioned earlier. Shigetada's perception highlights Ikezuki's special status, while Ikezuki helps to signpost for the reader Shigetada's importance in the crossing to come.

Shigetada's recognition of Ikezuki's cry is said to be vindicated by the gods, rather than just the physical proof of the horse standing before them. While Surusumi is an exceptional horse, it is not presented with any of the odd happenings or behaviour that epitomises Ikezuki, thus making the latter stand out. While other variant texts indicate that there is nothing to choose between Surusumi and Ikezuki in terms of their quality, *Genpei Jōsuiki* is very clear that, while Surusumi is superior to all the horses gathered at the campsite already, when Ikezuki appears, Surusumi cannot compete. *Genpei Jōsuiki* breaks this comparison down into minute detail relating to equine sizes and stature, returning emphasis to the significance of the horse within the scene.[491]

> [Kagesue], feeling sure that there could not be any bigger horse than Surusumi in the encampment, began looking around at the more distinguished warrior figures there. When he looked at their horses, he saw Yoshitsune's Seikaiwa, who was (4 shaku) 7 sun high, and Noriyori, whose horse, Tsukinowa, was (4 shaku) 7 sun 2 fun tall. Wada Kotarō's Shiranami was (4 shaku) 7 sun 5 fun, while Hatakeyama's Chichibu Kage was (4 shaku) 7 sun 8 fun. Beginning with these, the horses of the greater and lesser men present numbered 50 here, 30 there, 5 here, 10 there, but Surusumi was bigger than all of them. Kagesue, feeling overjoyed by this, found himself a position up high, and so that everyone could see Surusumi, he rode him around prominently.[492]

[490] 6:180–81. Onikurige is not one of the horses listed in the nineteen named in the earlier section, where Shigetada has four different horses instead. Shigetada is later announced as the first to cross the river on foot.
[491] Kawai Yasushi has written about size comparisons between prominent horses recorded in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*. See Kawai, *Genpei kassen no kyozō o hagu*, 45–47.
[492] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:162.

The intent of *Genpei Jōsuiki* to establish an equine hierarchy stands in contrast to the *Nagatobon* version. Although in the *Nagatobon,* Kagesue is equally preoccupied with the superiority or inferiority of Surusumi, the text's narrator tells us that there was nothing to choose between the two horses.[493] The *Nagatobon* frames Kagesue's obsession with comparing horses as being his personal fixation, rather than attempting to demonstrate a disparity of quality between each steed. *Genpei Jōsuiki* instead reinforces the idea of Ikezuki's superiority:

> As fine and exceptional a horse as Surusumi was, when compared with Ikezuki, it could not be denied that it was somewhat inferior.[494]

Kagesue's insecurities and how they relate to the military hierarchy will be further discussed later in this section.

There is no immediate distinction of merit between the three animals in Yoritomo's possession, although the text subsequently prioritises Ikezuki over Surusumi (and by extension, over the third horse, Wakashiroge). In the same way, Sasaki Takatsuna and Kajiwara Kagesue are both introduced as retainers of Yoritomo, and have the same status. Because neither Kagesue nor Takatsuna have arrived with a horse suitable for crossing the river, neither man can realistically enter battle. For this reason, both go to Yoritomo for help. At this point, their characters begin to be presented with subtle differences. Kagesue asks Yoritomo for Ikezuki (and is given Surusumi).[495] Takatsuna does not ask for a horse. Instead, he wonders how he is meant to join battle if he has no steed on which to ride. The dependence of both men on Yoritomo is a key feature of this scene, and is particularly summed up by Takatsuna as he explains his helpless situation:

> "When one goes out on the battlefield… one is ready to lose their life for their lord…not knowing when the enemy might strike again, I thought to come here and receive orders from you…Moreover, if I had not come to Kamakura, and had gone to Kyoto of my own volition, you might have been angry...In rushing to get here I ran my horse into the ground and ruined it. Having no close person to call on for help, and, in spite of seeing people, I did not know who to

[493] *Nagatobon*, 4:6; *Feiqe Monogatari*, 233.
[494] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:163.
[495] Kagesue requests the horse in most versions of the text, although his approach is presented in different ways. Only the *Amakusabon* has Kagesue's father requesting the horse for his son instead. *Feiqe Monogatari*, 230.

> ask for a horse, so I agonised about what to do. Even though the great and small are already heading for Kyoto, for these reasons I remain here like this."[496]

Loyalty to one's master above all things is certainly a prominent rhetorical point throughout *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and Yoritomo is suitably impressed by Takatsuna's words. Just as Takatsuna stole a merchant's horse in order to ride to Yoritomo's side, now he again needs a horse in order to carry out the next stage of Yoritomo's plan. In the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene, because neither Takatsuna nor Kagesue has a horse of his own, they are both subservient to Yoritomo's will, making them entirely invested in the Minamoto cause. But where Kagesue demonstrates his personal desire by requesting Ikezuki, Takatsuna demonstrates no individual ambition. Instead he states that he is not acting of his own volition, for fear of Yoritomo's disapproval – not even to ask for a horse to ride into battle. Takatsuna's attitude again reinforces the idea that, unlike a thief, a loyal warrior's actions are strictly regimented within the broader framework of a lord's commands and control.

The dependence of these warriors on Yoritomo's favour is most clearly depicted in the *Engyōbon* account. Kagesue, when he discovers that the horse he requested has been given to another, becomes enraged and plots to kill Takatsuna. Far from intending to steal the horse, however, Kagesue's intention in doing this is to prove to Yoritomo that *he should be awarded* Ikezuki, and he sees Takatsuna's death as a way to achieve it.[497] In the first section of the chapter, I demonstrated how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents the dispatch of Kinosuke as a part of legitimising Takatsuna's right to own the horse. In a similar way, the *Engyōbon* shows Kagesue seeking to remove Takatsuna from the equation in order to be legitimately awarded ownership of Ikezuki. Kagesue's thought processes, while violent and impulsive, are still strongly rooted in his loyalty to Yoritomo. In both texts, dependence on Yoritomo's leadership and the lack of personal will is a strong theme. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, however, unlike the *Engyōbon*, Kagesue has no other horses to rely on. This helps to make the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scene more effective in presenting not only the dependence of both these warriors on Yoritomo's benevolence, but also their lack of personal ambition in the face of their Lord's will. The need for a good horse demonstrates Kagesue's place in the warrior hierarchy, reinforcing Yoritomo's position at the top.

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[496] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:159.
[497] *Engyōbon*, 9:53.

Yoritomo's Indecision and Takatsuna's Guile

Nuanced differences in the manner of depiction between the *Engyōbon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* accounts can be seen in their handling of how Yoritomo decides who should receive which horse. His method of choosing recipients helps the reader to understand how *Genpei Jōsuiki* promotes ideas relating to loyal service, reward and ultimately, legitimacy and position within the military hierarchy.

The *Engyōbon* presents Yoritomo as what Nakamura calls a *zettaiteki sonzai* or 'absolute presence'.[498] The declaration in this variant by Takatsuna's brother of his intent to discard family connections in favour of Yoritomo's cause shows a desire from retainers to sacrifice everything and act only according to Yoritomo's instructions.[499] This 'absolute' status gives Yoritomo an almost Buddhist resonance, encouraging his followers to abandon their worldly ties in order to serve him fully. It might be expected that, given *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s positioning of Yoritomo at the top of the military hierarchy as 'Great General of All Japan', a similar message might be found in its account. Again, however, *Genpei Jōsuiki* focuses its attention on the minutiae of warrior life, framing Yoritomo as a righteous but ultimately human lord and leader, rather than a pseudo-religious presence within the text. In both *Engyōbon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Kagesue frames his claim for the horse in a self-promotional speech about his talents and his need for a good steed. Where *Engyōbon*'s Yoritomo is repelled by Kagesue's arrogance, *Genpei Jōsuiki's* Yoritomo does not show disapproval for Kagesue's manner of approach. Moreover, he seems at a loss to know which retainer he should reward with Ikezuki, and wavers in his convictions about what he should do:

> Yoritomo considered this for a while.
>
> "When there were only seven of us, hiding in the Doi area of Sugiyama, we were saved and granted mercy by the actions of the Kajiwara. Right now, I am here because of this great debt I have to them. Maybe I should give him the horse," he pondered, but then he thought a second time,
>
> "If I give this horse to Kagesue, however, then I will have to deal with the anger of my brother, the Kaba Kanja (Noriyori), who has also sent a messenger to request it. If I grant the horse to Kagesue it will cause a disturbance in the ranks. Then again, for Kagesue to lack a good horse at such a crucial time as this is a problem. What can be done about it?"[500]

[498] Nakamura, "Yoritomo Gyōhei Tankō," 11.
[499] Nakamura, 11.
[500] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:157–58.

Although *Genpei Jōsuiki* never directly attacks or criticises Yoritomo's actions, his behaviour in this scene can be read as implicit criticism through the response of other characters. When Kagesue later discovers that Yoritomo has given Ikezuki to Takatsuna, he is clearly displeased:

> "Before now, I had no grievance against Sasaki-dono, but as of today, he is my enemy. Takatsuna is a strong individual, so he will not be defeated easily. We should wrestle each other to the ground and settle it with daggers. When Yoritomo hears that he has lost two of his best retainers over a matter of humiliation, then maybe he will realise that he has made a mistake. Takatsuna and I are both warriors worth a thousand, and brave soldiers, too."[501]

The *Engyōbon* shows Kagesue implying social superiority over Takatsuna, because the latter is a warrior from the east. [502] In the *Jōsuiki* account, Kagesue's anger is rooted in more than self-interested arrogance. Instead it is tempered by issues relating to the military hierarchy, and his perceived position within it. On first seeing Ikezuki, Kagesue reflects that, if the horse had been awarded to either of Yoritomo's brothers, he would have no objection to having placed second in the lord's favour:

> Kagesue, seeing this, felt that, if the horse had been given to Yoshitsune or Noriyori, he could be satisfied in coming second behind them.[503]

It is only when he learns that the horse has been given to Takatsuna that he becomes enraged, and even then, his grievance is not with Takatsuna, a man he calls a 'warrior worth a thousand'. In both *Genpei Jōsuiki* and the *Nagatobon*, Kagesue feels that, if Yoritomo was willing to give the horse to someone of his rank, it should have been him. In the *Nagatobon*, he asserts that, while Takatsuna is his equal, he, Kagesue asked for the horse first.[504] In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, his perspective relates to persistence. Although the text only depicts one request, Kagesue himself states that he has asked three times.[505] (In Chapter Two, persistent asking for a horse was ultimately rewarded with receipt of it, a line of thought Kagesue obviously shares). In the earlier cited scene involving Takatsuna's theft of a horse, it was Takatsuna, rather than Yoritomo, who was shown to understand the bonds between a retainer and a lord. In this example, it is Kagesue who outlines the rules of the traditional military hierarchy as regards bestowing favour.

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[501] 6:164.
[502] *Engyōbon*, 9:56.
[503] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:163.
[504] *Nagatobon*, 4:5.
[505] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:164.

Kagesue's indignant speech can be found in other variant texts, but his grievance is often explained, as in the *Engyōbon*, by Yoritomo's clear preference for Takatsuna.[506] By making a positive case for Kagesue to receive the horse before ultimately refusing him, *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s Yoritomo appears lacking in conviction, and by extension, his eagerness to please his followers suggests a weakness in his ability to control them. This results in mixed messages being sent to his retinue about their position in his hierarchy. The consequence is that two allies, Kagesue and Takatsuna, who ought to be fighting against Yoshinaka and the Heike, are pitched against each other in rivalry. This is particularly significant, as Yoritomo's original decision not to give Ikezuki to Kagesue was taken because he wanted to prevent a disturbance. His ultimate inconsistency creates the very circumstance he had sought to avoid, and in fact has made it worse. The text presents tensions in the encampment and resentments towards Yoritomo's choices through the medium of horse ownership. By taking this line, I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests weak and indecisive leadership causes disruption and unrest and that a leader must maintain the hierarchy for everyone to know their place in it. By extension, I also theorise that, in wanting to give a horse to everyone, Yoritomo's personal ambition to win has made him divided in his military convictions, and the situation is only saved by Takatsuna's quick-thinking, in an act of self-deprecating loyalty.

Yoritomo's decision to give Ikezuki to Takatsuna, at risk of making others jealous, might be seen as a further endorsement of Yoritomo's new world as a meritocracy, rather than one based on birth-right. It is certainly the case that, while his brothers Noriyori and Yoshitsune are given command of the two prongs of Yoritomo's army, neither one of them is awarded one of the special and cherished horses for the battles ahead. Moreover, when deciding who will receive Ikezuki, Yoritomo debates the service provided to him by the candidates involved, where other versions tend to focus on the obligations of family connections.[507] Yoritomo's judgements are ultimately successful not because of his attention to the military service rendered to him, but because Takatsuna is willing both to lie and defame himself to protect Yoritomo's reputation. Where Kagesue, representing the 'old world' view, shows a lack of understanding of rules of this 'new world', Takatsuna, a hereditary Genji, shows himself quickly cognisant of how the system now works, and the duty of a retainer to

[506] *Engyōbon*, 9:23-4,40,43.
[507] Engyōbon Chūshaku no Kai., 9:42; *Feiqe Monogatari*, 230.

cover for or protect a master, even at one's own expense. Where Kagesue is invested in the old idea of favour being bestowed in the form of material gain and personal prestige, Takatsuna is committed to upholding his Lord's interests and ideals, even in the face of unreasonable pressure. Takatsuna appears as the most prescient of Yoritomo's men – the role model for the future – and he is rewarded for this accordingly with ownership of the best horse. Whilst the *Engyōbon* shows Takatsuna reacting to Kagesue's arrogance with disgust and thoughts of violence, *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not.[508] Instead, Takatsuna realises the dangerous nature of the situation, and so thinks quickly, offering the following explanation as to how he came to own the horse:

> "I thought I might ask for a horse from my Lord's stable, but when I made some discreet enquiries I discovered that Surusumi had already been given to you, and that even though you and Lord Nobuyori had made three requests for Ikezuki, you had been refused. In that situation, there was no way that such a horse would be given to me. There was no hope at all that my wish would be granted. At the same time, I had become separated from the rest of Yoritomo's force, which had gathered at Yuigahama. Without a horse, I was stuck behind, and I could not allow that to happen. On thinking about this for a long time, I thought that, right now, this battle is of the greatest importance to my Lord. No matter what the punishment I might receive, I decided to steal a horse and ride it here. I bribed the stable hands and in the dead of night, plied the people on duty with alcohol. In the morning, I took Ikezuki and left for here. Right now, when I think of the message that has probably reached Yoritomo, I am sure he is thinking, 'how mysterious it is [that my horse has disappeared]'. I imagine he is in a bad temper about it, and that concerns me greatly. If I am thrown in a cell for my actions, please, come visit me there."[509]

Kagesue is satisfied by this account, congratulates Takatsuna on his guile and expresses a wish that he had thought to do the same thing. While Takatsuna tells an obvious lie to protect his Lord's reputation and interests, Kagesue interprets the theft as Takatsuna's attempt to further his reputation and name and so praises it, regretting that he did not think of it first. Kagesue's reaction shows that because he sees Takatsuna as his rank equal, he does not realise that his companion is in fact the moral superior. His lack of personal malice or aggression towards Kagesue contrasts with the example in the previous chapter, where Nakatsuna allows his obsession with a horse to translate into military violence. Instead, Takatsuna's preoccupation is to protect Yoritomo's interests, not his own. In doing this, his actions are for the greater cause.

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[508] *Engyōbon*, 9:54.
[509] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:165.

Kagesue's apparent gullibility appears again during the *Ujigawa Senjin* crossing, when Takatsuna calls his comrade back, pretending that Surusumi's girth strap is loose.[510] Takatsuna is subsequently able to draw ahead and claim the honour of being the first across the river. While this action appears to be self-serving, in *Genpei Jōsuiki* Takatsuna is once more acting in Yoritomo's name, rather than his own, as he has already given Yoritomo his word not only to cross the river first, but also to do so at the expense of any rival:

> "Prepare yourself,' [Yoritomo advised], 'and ensure you raise your reputation by being the first to cross the River Uji. I have placed my faith in you, and I will give you my prized horse and servant, Ikezuki."
>
> At these words, Takatsuna felt he had received the greatest favour in the world and he believed that he could not receive greater praise. Thinking that there was nothing that could compare to this, he humbly accepted and received the horse…
>
> "I will, of course, cross Uji River first." [he replied] "If you hear that I died before reaching the battlefield, please assume it is because someone else stole the honour of being first from me... If someone else crosses first, and my goal is taken away from me, I shall not resent my opponent but, whoever my rival may be and whether it be on the river bank or in the water, I shall pull them back and defeat them in order to settle our contest"[511]

Takatsuna's behaviour in the subsequent river crossing is thereby framed as another act of absolute loyalty to one's master, rather than simply an attempt to further his own reputation. Unlike Kagesue, whose resentment over the horse has him declare Takatsuna his enemy, Takatsuna clearly states to Yoritomo that, even if he were to be defeated, he would not bear his rival a grudge. Although he threatens to attack any individual who steals from him the honour of crossing the river first, this vow of violence is made as part of a broader promise to Yoritomo, rather than just his own personal ambition. Nor does he single out any particular rival by name, simply claiming that he will pull back and fight any who seek to prevent him keeping his word to his master. In the same way that he was willing to commit violence against Kinosuke in order to reach Yoritomo faster, Takatsuna's priority is not with his own ambition, but with making the aims of his master a reality, at any cost. Takatsuna's patience and lack of desire contrast once more with Kagesue's three separate demands for the horse. Although Yoritomo mentions that he is currently unable to keep his reckless promise to

[510] 6:178.
[511] *Genpei Jōsuiki* 6:160.

award half of Japan to Takatsuna, Takatsuna holds no grudge.[512] Instead, his attitude is humble and accepting, showing that his priority lies in serving Yoritomo and helping him bring about a 'new world' order, not in accruing personal power and status. This approach reinforces the idea that a retainer's loyal service to a lord could also ultimately benefit the retainer, and Takatsuna's honour in being the first to cross the river and in receiving Ikezuki, appears to bear this out. By keeping his promise to Yoritomo, Takatsuna has earned the right to ride the horse and ultimately has bolstered his own reputation in doing so. In Chapter Two, Nakatsuna's attempts to deceive Munemori receive negative attention from the narrator. By contrast, Takatsuna's lies to Kagesue are used within the bigger contexts of serving one's lord and preventing internal conflict. Lying also appears as an important skill in the *Heike* corpus, and a part of the warrior's weaponry. As Karl Friday has pointed out, the skill of guile and deception on the battlefield was a staple part Japanese warfare, and examples of this appear extensively in War Tale accounts.[513] This distinction between a court dispute and a battlefield lie allows a tentative hypothesis that this kind of deception was a form of warrior communication accepted and expected on the battlefield, but not in court circles in the manner of Nakatsuna.

The *Engyōbon Heike* text particularly uses warrior deception as accepted dialogue when describing Takatsuna's arrival at Yoritomo's base, before the Uji battle. Takatsuna explains that the reason for his delay is that he was carrying out religious rites for his father, Hideyoshi, who had died thirteen years earlier.[514] Yoritomo praises his act, mentioning that Hideyoshi died in defence of his father, Yoshitomo, in the Heiji Uprising.[515] These details are contradictory, creating a confusing and impossible timeline. Hideyoshi at the time of this meeting was still alive, and appears earlier in the text, during Yoritomo's initial call to arms.[516] Moreover, Yoritomo's assertion that Hideyoshi died in defence of Yoshitomo does not correlate with Takatsuna's claim that this occurred thirteen years earlier, as Yoshitomo has been dead for twenty years. It can be argued that the insertion of religious rites in this discussion between lord and retainer is indicative of the Buddhist rhetoric that dominates the *Engyōbon*, a subject addressed

[512] 6:159–60.
[513] Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and the State in Early Medieval Japan*, 140–45.
[514] *Engyōbon*, 9:42.
[515] *Engyōbon*, 9:42–43.
[516] "Yoritomo Gyōhei Tankō," 12.

by both Franks and Makino in their evaluations.[517] Another possibility also exists, however – that these are not inconsistencies, but deliberate lies told in a form of warrior dialogue between Yoritomo and Takatsuna. When telling Yoritomo the reason for his lateness, Takatsuna drops his eyes, not meeting his lord's gaze. It is impossible to imagine that Yoritomo would not have known the date of death of his own father, as his exile had also begun at that point. The fact that he does not refute Takatsuna's explanation suggests that he accepts the lie, and even approves of it. Takatsuna may not be telling the truth, but he is quick-thinking enough to formulate an acceptable response, and it is this ability to react under pressure that Yoritomo praises and rewards with the gift of the horse. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, these inconsistencies are not apparent, but Takatsuna's lie reaps several indirect rewards. By claiming to Kagesue that he is a thief, he protects Yoritomo's interests, obtains the better horse and ultimately crosses the River Uji first. Although *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not explicit, Yoritomo's gift of Ikezuki to Takatsuna may also reflect an understanding of his ability to lie. Kagesue and the others who seek Ikezuki do not get him because, in being direct about their desire, they have already demonstrated that they lack a 'poker face', and are thus less likely to see the 'bigger picture' and act according to the situation in the same way.[518] Of all the contenders for Ikezuki, Yoritomo chooses the man whose ability to deceive may become a vital and positive weapon in the military conflicts ahead. This assertion can be further bolstered when considering that it is Takatsuna who, following the battle of Ishibashiyama, rode back into the enemy force and distracted their attention by declaring that he was Yoritomo.[519] In telling this lie, and doing so with speed and courage, Takatsuna allowed Yoritomo to escape with his life, once more benefitting the bigger cause.

In Chapter Two, I discussed the equine hierarchy between the horses Konoshita and Nanryō. In this example, Nanryō was given as a substitute for Konoshita, but was not considered to be an equally good horse. Just as Nanryō, a Taira horse, was inferior to Konoshita, a Minamoto one, here Surusumi, in the hands of Kagesue, is inferior to Ikezuki, the favoured Minamoto steed. In Chapter Two, Nakatsuna's desire to possess

[517] Franks, "Another 'Tale of the Heike'"; Makino, "Ikezuki to Surusumi."
[518] Only in another variant, the *Genpei Tōjōroku,* does Takatsuna explicitly ask for Ikezuki. Although not featured in most *Heike* variants, Takatsuna's desire for the horse also features in a *Nō* adaptation. *Genpei Tōjōroku (2)*, 2:329.
[519] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:72–73.

Konoshita led his family to ruin and himself to death. Kagesue's obsession with Ikezuki almost follows a similar path, as he is willing to engage and kill Takatsuna for receiving the horse he covets. In this instance, however, Takatsuna prevents a violent incident through deception, thus ensuring the peace. In the Chapter Two example, the scene begins with the claim that the rebellion of Yorimasa and his son happened on account of a horse (*uma yue nari*). The same pattern occurs with regards to Ikezuki. When Takatsuna sees Kagesue's anger, he also observes that this is due to Ikezuki (*Ikezuki yue nari*). In both examples, horses, and the desire to own them, provide potential catalysts for violence. While Yorimasa and Nakatsuna choose to rebel over a horse to restore their family's pride, Takatsuna chooses to sacrifice his immediate reputation in order to prevent a fight. Takatsuna subsequently crosses the river Uji first, and gains the plaudits for having done so, thus establishing a long-term positive reputation which eclipses that of Yorimasa and his son, at least in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. This indicates that while the horse is a potentially destructive and dangerous entity, if properly controlled by a loyal and diligent retainer, it can ultimately lead to personal success, but only if that success comes within the remit of the common good.

Kagesue: Gullible Fool or Taira Scapegoat?

Genpei Jōsuiki presents the Taira family's authority as significantly inferior to that of the Minamoto, and in the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene, this lesser position is conveyed to the reader through the character of Kagesue, a former Taira partisan. *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises Kagesue in a contradictory manner, presenting him as inferior when faced with Takatsuna and Ikezuki, but his attitude is shown as superior when faced with the Taira during the Ikuta battle in a later scene.[520] This overall presentation helps to reinforce his ambiguous position as both 'foolish' Taira and 'heroic' Genji. In the Ikezuki incident, Kagesue does not have Takatsuna's selfless and sacrificial attitude, but at Ikuta, although his odds are grim, he fights without fear or concern for his life. Kagesue's lost honour in the *Ujigawa Senjin* is restored to him through his own military conduct. Kagesue's apparent gullibility to Takatsuna's lies, both in the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene and during the Uji River crossing has been a focus of academic discussion.[521] Whether he truly believes the lie (as *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests) or whether he understands it as an act of fealty towards Yoritomo (as it is explained to him in the

[520] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:25.
[521] For example, Ōgawa, "Kajiwara-Shi o Megutte."

Nagatobon) is unclear. Most versions of the scene in different *Heike* variants imply that Kagesue does not see Takatsuna's real motive and is, therefore, naive.

Kagesue's position straddling both Minamoto and Taira families potentially makes him a target for criticism. As I have already cited at several points in this thesis, *Genpei Jōsuiki* states that a retainer should not serve two masters, yet Kagesue has defected from the Taira to support the Minamoto. While he is loyal to Yoritomo's cause, this ambivalence over his identity may also explain why it is his negative behaviour leading up to Uji that is more often remembered than his positive work at Ikuta. The *Genta Kandō* (Kagesue's Disinheritance) scene of the Edo period Kabuki play, *Hiragana Seisuiki,* is a later adaptation depicting the aftermath of the river crossing. It underscores the negative attitude towards Kagesue's failure to cross first.[522] The scene presents Kagesue returning to his family to report on the battle of Uji River. Finely dressed and proud of stature, he is warmly greeted by his companions – all save his younger brother, Kagetaka, who appears to have already received news from the front.[523] Kagesue claims that it was he who was first to cross, but Kagetaka, informed of the details, challenges him, pointing out that he was duped by Takatsuna's lie, and thus is a disgrace to the family. He demands that Kagesue commit ritual suicide because of the shame. Kagesue's mother and lover are both grief-stricken at this suggestion, but ultimately Kagesue's mother decides that she will only disinherit him, allowing him to leave in disgrace. The scene exaggerates the cold harshness of 'Genji' warrior society – perhaps alluding to the Tokugawa regime - represented here through Kagetaka's demand for his brother to commit ritual suicide. It equally reflects the foolishness of the 'Heike', in Kagesue's flamboyant appearance and hopeless attempt to deceive his family about his battle activities. His attempt to lie parodies Takatsuna's deceptions in the original scene, for while Takatsuna defamed himself for Yoritomo's benefit, Kagesue is in search of his own prestige. As in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Kagesue's initial pride and outer appearance is subsequently shattered by the revelation of his inferiority and ultimate defeat. Unlike *Genpei Jōsuiki*, however, the *Hiragana Seisuiki* makes Kagesue's failure of his own doing, stating that the two horses were equal, and that his lack of skill let him down. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s insistent equine hierarchy, placing Ikezuki above Surusumi, removes some of this responsibility from Kagesue. Despite this, by

[522] *Nihon Gikyoku Zenshū*, 34:3–46.
[523] *Nihon Gikyoku Zenshū*, 34:10.

receiving the inferior horse, Kagesue is still shamed. *Genpei Jōsuiki* utilises horses, rather than explicit criticism, to demonstrate Kagesue's unworthiness and Takatsuna's superiority.

The pattern of depicting Taira family members as being easily fooled is not limited to Kagesue alone. The various texts of the *Heike* corpus depict other Taira being duped by an enemy, ultimately leading to their downfall. Chapter Two of this thesis shows Munemori, deceived by the false promises of loyalty from the retainer Kiō, as the subsequent target for mockery and betrayal. Gullibility can also cost lives. At the battle of Ichinotani, Taira Moritoshi is killed because he is fooled into believing his opponent has surrendered to him.[524] I suggest that the idea of the Taira as inferior, easy to fool and always second-best appears as a repeating message throughout the texts. In Kagesue's case, however, the rules are a little different. Not only does Kagesue not lose his life as a result of this deception, in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, his honour is also not particularly damaged. On the contrary, it might be argued that Takatsuna's lie about stealing the horse is as much to protect Kagesue's honour and pride as it is to preserve Yoritomo's. Although Kagesue fails to cross the Uji River first, and does not secure Ikezuki for his own, *Genpei Jōsuiki* later depicts him acting with great courage in a difficult situation, firing arrows at the battle of Ikuta-no-Mori to try and fend off the enemy.[525] This story is still re-enacted today at the Ikuta Shrine in the modern city of Kobe (*fig. 29*), suggesting that, far from being destroyed by the events of the Ikezuki debacle, Kagesue as a warrior is remembered not just with disdain, but also with merit.

[524] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:35.
[525] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:21–27.

Fig 24: Kajiwara Kagesue and his associated retainers at the Ikuta Matsuri, Ikuta Shrine, Kobe.[526]

Kagesue's desire to be seen as important to Yoritomo's cause is, perhaps, a more significant theme found in this section. On receiving Surusumi, Kagesue rides it to the highest point and compares it meticulously with all other horses. He wants to show it off, and even asks other warriors to comment on the fact that he has it. From this moment of pride, however, comes a very quick fall when he realises that the horse he really wanted is in another's possession. Kagesue's position as a former Taira partisan here is directly brought to the forefront of the story:

> Kagesue…was incensed. "That is shameful indeed! The horse which I had coveted and requested three times was not given to me, but instead has been given to Takatsuna! I will never forget the depth of this resentment! If the horse could not be given to me, surely it should not be entrusted to him, either? The Great General (Yoritomo) has allowed his prejudices about Minamoto and Taira to take precedence here and has shown himself to be biased. Is there anything more despicable than this? This is not a world in which one flourishes for a thousand years. Indeed, human life is as fleeting as a lightning bolt, or the morning dew."[527]

[526] Picture E A Woolley, 16th April, 2017
[527] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:164.

Kagesue's anger exposes his insecurities about his origins. He judges that Yoritomo has favoured Takatsuna based on bloodline, rather than on loyal service, and he resents it. His violent thoughts towards Yoritomo do help to bolster the idea that Takatsuna's lie is designed to protect Yoritomo more than it is to fool Kagesue, but Kagesue's own self-identification as a Taira is significant. His comment about lives not lasting thousands of years both feeds into his helplessness at not being a hereditary Minamoto retainer, and the unstable position of those connected to the Taira family. The impermanence he mentions is also reflected in the design of his armour, which is described as featuring tiny cherry blossoms – a flower often associated with the short life of a warrior and the idea of early death.[528] As the opening of this scene demonstrates, the Taira are at the bottom of Yoritomo's military hierarchy, and are not really viewed as a threat when compared with that posed by Yoshinaka's rival Genji force. The swift transformation between Kagesue's position of pride and then his subsequent dismay also reflects the ideas of impermanence as a whole connected with the text. Kagesue begins the scene by boasting of his wild heart and his abilities, and his attempt to show off the horse also echoes this outward display of self-pride. By seeing Ikezuki in the hands of another, however, he is immediately reduced to a sense of inferiority and anger. As mentioned earlier in the scene, Ikezuki's cry is compared to a temple bell, and I argued that his role connected to the Gion Shōja bell and the threat of death hanging over both Yoshinaka and those individuals in the field waiting to enter battle. This concept can also be applied directly to Kagesue who, in the short space of this scene, has risen to heights of trust and repute among his peers, only to be shamed and undermined in the hierarchy by the appearance of this liminal and exceptional horse.

Zō-Ō Taishi's Elephant and the Warrior Thief

In the opening description of the gathered horses of Yoritomo's army in the 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' scene, we see these powerful beasts compared with other great animals, including the elephant. This connection is made more deeply in the *Nagatobon* and *Genpei Jōsuiki* texts, through the inclusion of an Indian anecdote.[529] This segment, although very similar in structure in both texts, contains one crucial difference. While the matter of the Elephant Prince – the Zō-Ō Taishi – forms part of Takatsuna's explanation for his alleged theft in the *Nagatobon*, *Genpei Jōsuiki* separates it from the

[528] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:162.
[529] 6:166.

main scene, and includes it instead as part of the narrator's observation. The story (as quoted in *Genpei Jōsuiki*) reads as follows:

> In India, there was a Prince called Zō-Ō-Taishi (The Great Elephant Prince). He had one hundred elephants in his care, but, when war came with a neighbouring land, he gave ninety-nine elephants to his soldiers and only kept one behind as his favoured steed. A convict called Hachihō saw this, and he was a man with a criminal record. He thought that, if he rode the Taishi's favoured elephant, entered the enemy camp to attack and was killed, then later generations would instead remember him as a loyal servant who, for the sake of his lord, fought and destroyed the Taishi's enemies. The next day following his release from jail he stole the elephant and went to destroy the Prince's enemies. On his return, it is said that he received rewards for his actions. Takatsuna's strange confession must surely have been based on this tale.[530]

It is important that *Genpei Jōsuiki* separates this story from Takatsuna's lie, because by including it in the narration, it attempts to present it as a more impartial rationale with which readers can anchor Takatsuna's behaviour. When constructed within Takatsuna's dialogue, it appears to represent how he personally wants to be seen by Kagesue, but in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the separation of the anecdote makes it appear this is how the *text itself* wants him to be seen, including his earlier misdemeanours in the evaluation. No surviving historical provenance is known for this story, and whether it was invented for either the *Nagatobon* or *Genpei Jōsuiki* is unclear, although its appearance in both reinforces the idea of a relationship between the two texts. The use of elephant imagery may suggest a Buddhist connection, although no origin story has thus far been traced by scholars to explain its inclusion.[531] In this story, the Prince has kept an elephant behind for his own use, much like Yoritomo and Ikezuki. *Genpei Jōsuiki* offers the story as an explanation for Takatsuna's lie about stealing the horse, but this alone does not explain the deeper problem surrounding Takatsuna in this text – the fact that the reader already knows that Takatsuna is a horse thief.

There are parallels between the Elephant Prince's story and the ideas found in the 'Horse Thief' scene discussed earlier in this chapter. In section one, I argued that Takatsuna received rank and position by taking the merchant Kinosuke's horse, comparing it to a similar tale from the *Konjaku Monogatari* involving a thief and a warrior. In the story of the Elephant Prince, the thief, Hachihō, also gains acclaim for

[530] 6:166.
[531] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:166n.

stealing the elephant, due to his military prowess. In spite of the apparent connection to the theft of Kinosuke's horse and Takatsuna's subsequent status elevation, the story of the Elephant Prince appears in the tale of Ikezuki and Surusumi, where Takatsuna has only pretended to steal a horse. Perhaps its inclusion is an ironic nod to the reader, who knows Takatsuna's secrets, and realises that, although he did not commit theft here, he did so previously.

The story of the Elephant Prince and the thief blends the themes seen in the 'Horse Thief' and 'Ikezuki and Surusumi' stories to give a composite justification of Takatsuna's actions overall. It indicates that an individual of any status can be transformed by the receipt of a suitable steed. The promise of distinction in battle for a lord's honour or name erases any crime or slight committed in the process of getting there. As Takatsuna took Kinosuke's horse in order to better serve Yoritomo, so Hachihō took the elephant. And, although Takatsuna lies to Kagesue and tells him he stole Ikezuki, in reality his lie is also to protect his Lord's interests, even if it leads to him ultimately being shamed before his peers. The example of Hachihō resonates closely with Takatsuna in both the scenarios evaluated in this chapter, reminding the reader that Takatsuna is both a thief and a liar, but that both acts are justified as they were carried out in Yoritomo's name.

Conclusion

The previous section analysed several examples whereby themes of hierarchy (both military and equine) and the role of absolute loyalty to one's lord are depicted through a tale of horse ownership and possession. The sheer quantity of named horses recorded in *Genpei Jōsuiki* account once again demonstrates the heavy emphasis given by this text to equine representation, and the significant role played by the horses within its discourse. The liminal nature of Ikezuki's depiction suggests ideas of impermanence and the impending shifts in power and status in the capital that will occur following the battle with Yoshinaka's forces. The actions of Kagesue also help to frame him as an individual trapped in the old way of doing things, whereas Takatsuna is symbolic of a change in attitude between a master and a retainer. Takatsuna's willingness to sacrifice his reputation to protect Yoritomo's is ultimately the reason why he alone is fit to ride Ikezuki. This loyalty may also hint at the real outcome of the Sasaki family's status in the early years of the Kamakura shogunate, for although they thrived politically, Kagesue, his family, and even Yoritomo's own brothers would each be disgraced and

subsequently killed. Only the Sasaki, therefore, existed long enough without censure to still be a present force at the time of the founding of the next military government. Takatsuna's ability to see new worlds begin, as depicted in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, may reflect the fortunes of his family in navigating a constantly changing political climate. The importance of loyalty to one's lord over all other concerns is also a principal theme to which *Genpei Jōsuiki* continuously returns. Kagesue's role as a former Taira partisan helps to reinforce the inferior status of the Taira in the new order of things. Although Kagesue's reputation following his failure at the Uji River crossing has sometimes led to his receiving a negative portrayal, *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not ultimately view him as a villain. Instead, it uses his indignation over Ikezuki to convey deeper political points about the lord and retainer relationship and the value of a military meritocracy under Yoritomo's sole command.

This chapter has demonstrated how themes of unquestioning loyalty, obedience and self-sacrifice are depicted within *Genpei Jōsuiki*. By using the case studies relating to Takatsuna and his various encounters with horses, I have shown the strong relationship that exists within the text between the equine and military hierarchies. This relationship creates a structure in which everyone has their own place and in which the lord's will is paramount over individual or personal ambition. The text also indicates the benefits of being a decisive lord and a dedicated retainer in the status and success of both individuals, promoting a mutually beneficial rapport through loyalty, even at personal cost. The horses act in these scenes to reinforce the rigid structure of warrior hierarchy and the expectation that a warrior should know his place and serve his lord loyally, even to his own detriment. The horse also acts as a transitionary device, bringing peripheral warriors into the centre, as well as representing themes of impermanence, through comparisons with temple bells. Through the acquisition of a horse, a thief can be transformed into a warrior, and a peripheral or 'other' entity can become legitimised and central to the story. Takatsuna, by lying, killing, and stealing, demonstrates superior loyalty to his master, and is thus able to retain his positive reputation as a hero. By adhering to the bigger picture and obeying his lord at all costs, Takatsuna is lauded by the text, rather than criticised, and is rewarded for his efforts. Central to Takatsuna's success is his ability to obtain horses and utilise them in demonstrating acts of legitimacy, and loyalty within a hierarchy. Horses, and the way in

which they inform our understanding of these themes, remain an integral part of how these stories are told and received.

Chapter Four:
Second Sons as Scapegoats: The Start of the Taira's 'Evil Deeds'.

Introduction

The analysis in Chapters Two and Three focused on fictional stories involving named horses, and their direct impact on the narrative and its participants. While my earlier chapters demonstrate that *Genpei Jōsuiki* includes more named horses than other variant texts, using them to underpin its key themes, there are also many unnamed horses included in the tales of the Genpei War. This chapter will examine two types of equine usage in *Genpei Jōsuiki* that have not yet been properly addressed. The first is that of the unnamed horse, acting as a supporting character to reinforce once more the idea of hierarchy and the importance of absolute loyalty. In analysing the use of minor unnamed equines in a scene involving a political power struggle, I will demonstrate how horses can also underpin changing political realities between the nobility and the warrior, evoking again themes of centre and periphery. The second aspect, which will form the main focus of this chapter, demonstrates how the omission of a horse impacts our understanding of *Genpei Jōsuiki*. As I have already argued, the horse is intrinsic to the structure of *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s scene construction, influencing the fates of individual characters and political movements. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate the one example within the text where the opposite occurs – a scene in which most *Heike* variants place an individual on horseback, where *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not. I will argue that the removal of this horse from the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scene removes the direct stigma of blame from the horse's rider. The text instead expands its critical judgement over a much wider span of time, placing responsibility for the disruption, not with one insolent adolescent in 1170, but rather with the whole Taira hegemony since the destruction of the Minamoto in 1160. By moving the timeline back to 1160, *Genpei Jōsuiki* once more adds legitimacy to the Minamoto cause, and to Yoritomo's ultimate success in becoming the Shogun of Japan. The omission of a horse, I suggest, turns a small political incident into a part of the bigger descent into war.

This chapter will analyse the *Denka Noriai* incident – the clash of carriages, horses and power between the Regent, Fujiwara no Motofusa and Taira no Sukemori. Like the Konoshita dispute I analysed in Chapter Two, the *Denka Noriai* incident is the story of a power struggle enacted on the streets of ancient Kyoto. In most versions of

the *Heike Monogatari*, Sukemori, the thirteen-year-old grandson of Kiyomori, is returning home on horseback from a hunting trip when he encounters Motofusa coming the other way. Motofusa's men demand that Sukemori and his companions dismount to show respect, but Sukemori's party refuse. The Regent's men subsequently attack them and force them to submit. On hearing this, Kiyomori becomes outraged and, ignoring the advice of Sukemori's father, Shigemori, sends warriors to humiliate the Regent and his men on the day of the Emperor's Coming-of-Age ceremony. This is cited in most versions of the *Heike Monogatari* as being the start of the Taira's 'evil deeds', marking the point as the first step on the road to war. *Denka Noriai* is translated by Helen McCullough as 'Horsemen Encounter the Regent', placing emphasis on this being an equine confrontation.[532] The story is based on actual events that took place in the seventh and tenth months of 1170 (Kaō 2), although it was Shigemori, not Kiyomori, who ordered the revenge attack on Motofusa's men.[533] Despite this, most *Heike* corpus versions of the tale do not tally with the accounts of contemporaries.

Among all *Heike* variant texts that include this story, *Genpei Jōsuiki* stands alone in its framing of the tale. Unlike other variants, Sukemori is not depicted on horseback. Moreover, the scene is not described as the start of the Taira's evil. This chapter will address this apparent anomaly, investigating first how the traditional version of the story uses the placing of Sukemori on horseback to illustrate the start of the Taira's evil deeds, and then examining why *Genpei Jōsuiki* – which usually privileges horses – does not follow the same pattern. The focus of this chapter examines both the inclusion and omission of horses in this tale, and how, by manipulating equine involvement, *Genpei Jōsuiki* broadens the issue of blame and responsibility. My analysis will review how the story has been represented in other media, before examining how, like the incident in the Hot Springs cited in Chapter One, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses a small event to unfold bigger events across a wide span of time, ultimately contributing to the descent into war. I will also explore the characterisation of Kiyomori's second son, Motomori, a figure so peripheral in the Genpei story that he is not included in most versions of the *Heike Monogatari*. I will argue how the omission of Sukemori's horse from the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s *Denka Noriai* scene shifts blame to Motomori, making him the scapegoat for the Taira's evil deeds. By removing

[532] McCullough, *The Tale of the Heike*, 42.
[533] Takahashi, *Heike No Gunzō*, 34; Kusaka, *Ikusa monogatari no sekai*, 132; Kotani, "Sharei Kara Mita Denka Noriai Jiken," 2; Motoki, *Taira no Kiyomori to Goshirakawa-in*, 119.

Sukemori's horse, this text vindicates Sukemori from the overall blame he receives for the *Denka Noriai* incident, in contradiction of other *Heike* corpus texts.

While *Denka Noriai* has been written about extensively by scholars, the bulk of the focus surrounding it has centred on whether Kiyomori or Shigemori ordered the revenge attack on Motofusa. Most scholars draw on the contemporary evidence of the twelfth century *Gyokuyō* diary and the *Gukanshō* history of 1219, both of which were written by Motofusa's siblings.[534] Both texts ascribe responsibility to Shigemori. The impact of the *Heike* version of the tale, however, is clearly visible in other accounts – in particular regarding the character of Shigemori. Inobe Jūichirō, writing in the 1980s, asserts that Shigemori cannot be responsible for such a violent act, using his peaceful and rational characterisation from the *Heike Monogatari* to defend this point of view.[535] Inobe's conviction even questions the sources mentioned above, privileging the *Heike*'s version of events over those written by individuals connected to the incident.[536] A more recent article by Soga Yoshinari also intimates similar doubts. Like Inobe, Soga challenges the interpretation of the *Gyokuyō* diary entries, and asserts that its account is not as clear-cut as some scholars have claimed.[537] In the same way Inobe relies on the *Kakuichibon Heike* to validate Shigemori's character, Soga utilises the *Genpei Jōsuiki* account, citing it as historically accurate because of how closely it mirrors the *Gyokuyō* entries.[538] While their motivation and approach to the matter is different, both Soga and Inobe ultimately cite *Heike* corpus texts to disprove accusations against Shigemori, valuing their evidence above the writing of contemporaries. As Osakabe Hisatsu observes, the accounts presented by prominent versions of the *Heike Monogatari* are generally better known than those in texts like *Gukanshō*. The 'popular history' element of the *Heike* corpus and the power of its dissemination over so many centuries has made it a more credible witness, even among some academics.[539]

This angle of scholarship and the disputes over responsibility centre on two more well-known characters from the *Heike Monogatari* – Kiyomori and Shigemori. This emphasis on their actions overshadows analysis of the story itself and the

[534] Jien, *The Future and the Past*, 125; *Kundoku Gyokuyō*, 1:154.
[535] Inobe, "Taira No Sukemori Jiken Kakusho," 323–24.
[536] Inobe, 322.
[537] Soga, "Genpei Jōsuiki no Shijitsu-sei," 563.
[538] Soga, 563.
[539] Osakabe, "Heike Monogatari No Settokubu Ni Saguru Taira No Shigemori No Koudou Genri," 78.

participants. There is very little academic work on Sukemori, and even less on his representation between texts. Obayashi Jun is one scholar who does address this problem. He suggests the possibility that Sukemori might actually have been Shigemori's eldest son, or at the very least, his chosen successor, citing *Gyokuyō*'s description of him as the *chakunan*, or 'son who will inherit'.[540] In doing so, he weighs up the importance of Sukemori's status at the time of the *Denka Noriai* incident and the possible impact that it had on his position, both as potential heir and in terms of court promotion.[541] Obayashi's assertion raises questions about whether Sukemori's status in the *Heike* corpus as *jinan*, or second son, is in fact a punishment, castigating him for an embarrassing political incident over which he had little personal control. As Kotani Ayako observes, customs surrounding carriages and disembarking in the Genpei period were complex, and the type of carriage Sukemori was riding was important to this etiquette. Kotani argues that those travelling in woman's carriages, like Sukemori, were not obliged to disembark. This would mean that the political blame for the incident lay with the Regent's men, rather than the Taira.[542] The fact that most *Heike* versions omit mention of such a carriage suggests an intent to frame this event as a step on the descent towards civil war.

Takahashi Masaaki argues that the real story of Sukemori's clash with the Regent may have been combined with a historical account of his brother Koremori, traditionally seen as Shigemori's intended successor. In this encounter, Koremori was returning from a hunting trip when he encountered someone of higher court rank and dismounted his horse in accordance with court values.[543] Even if Takahashi is correct, the compilers of the earliest *Heike* variants still merged two historical events to create a single story that would explain to audiences the starting point for the Taira abuses of power. Choosing to reference an anecdote in which Koremori understood correct protocol to demonstrate Sukemori's ignorance also elicits an implied comparison between the eldest son, or *chōnan*, and the second son, or *jinan.* While the term *jinan* can be written with the characters for 'two' and 'man', it is often rendered with the kanji for 'next man', suggesting a hierarchical position of inferiority. This theme is most commonly presented in *Heike* corpus texts in the comparison between Shigemori and

[540] Obayashi, "Taira Sukemori Shōden: Sono Ichi," 1.
[541] Obayashi, 3.
[542] Kotani, "Sharei Kara Mita Denka Noriai Jiken."
[543] Takahashi, *Heike No Gunzō*, 40, 51.

Munemori, but can also be applied to other such relationships, such as that of Koremori and Sukemori.

Vyjayanthi Selinger examines the scene from a more symbolic perspective. For Selinger, the horse's role in the scene indicates forced awareness of differences in perceived status, for although the Taira are elevated to the noble class, they are warriors by blood. This connects to the ideas of peripherality of status I addressed in Chapter Two, where Munemori held court rank but was not respected for doing so. Selinger argues that at the core of the *Denka Noriai* scene is the collision of rigid court expectation and hierarchy and the wilder, liminal role of the warrior who refuses to respect those values.[544] As I discussed in Chapter Three, this interpretation of the warrior as a wild and uncontrolled peripheral entity is problematic. Warriors were legitimised by and controlled within a strict military hierarchy. Wild behaviour such as theft and murder could be seen as acts of loyalty to a lord, and thus within this rigid framework. Shigemori's rank at the time of the *Denka Noriai* also made the real event a dispute within the noble class, manifested through use of two carriages, rather than carriage and horse.[545] In spite of that fact, most *Heike* texts make the tale one of *carriage versus horse*, implying that distinctions in status are emphasised in the way Selinger claims.

Selinger's argument is astute but does not address two key problems presented in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* version of the tale – first, that this text records a clash between carriages, not horse and carriage, and secondly, the role played by Motomori in establishing the start of Taira abuses.[546] In this, she is far from alone. Motomori is also excluded from most *Heike* versions, where Munemori is made second son instead. Kusaka Tsutomu's 1981 article is one of the only studies to focus on Kiyomori's actual second son.[547] Just as Shigemori's positive reputation has been fostered by the *Heike* corpus, it appears that Motomori has been forgotten because he is not remembered by these texts. His inclusion in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, and its relationship to the *Denka Noriai* scene, has largely been overlooked, and yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, his role in

[544] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 148.
[545] Kotani, "Sharei Kara Mita Denka Noriai Jiken," 2.
[546] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 147–50, 150n.
[547] For Kusaka's complete discussion on Motomori and the question of Kiyomori's second son, see Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai."

Genpei Jōsuiki contributes to our understanding of how this text presents the descent into war.

Scholarly discussions on this scene have focused on historical and symbolic aspects, but in both cases, have often stopped short of analysing *Genpei Jōsuiki* specifically. Moreover, many such arguments are concerned with identifying Kiyomori or Shigemori as the instigator of the event. Rather than becoming engrossed in this debate, I seek to investigate the roles of the second sons themselves – Sukemori and Motomori – and what their involvement can tell us about the mindset of the texts in which they appear. My chapter will outline how these two second sons are utilised in very similar circumstances to illustrate the start of the Taira's 'bad deeds', and how their usage and depiction is key to crafting the format of the rest of the tale. To do this, I will begin with a discussion on Sukemori and his role in both the traditional story, and in the *Genpei Jōsuiki*.

Section I: The First Scapegoat: Sukemori in the Saddle

Taira no Sukemori is a peripheral individual in the *Heike Monogatari* corpus. He is not a tragic figure like Atsumori, who dies nobly in individual combat on the beach at Suma.[548] Nor is he the military powerhouse that is Noritsune, famous for taking two armed Genji down into the sea with him at his point of death.[549] Sukemori's stand-out role in the *Heike* corpus is the *Denka Noriai* clash, and within the texts, it is this which has defined him.

Historically, Sukemori also does not get much attention. He is principally known for the *Denka Noriai* incident, and for being the lover of one of Empress Kenreimon'in's ladies in waiting, Ukyō no Daibu, whose poetic memoirs of the period survive. Ukyō no Daibu's account of Sukemori is coloured by the rose-tint of a woman in love remembering a man now dead, but among her pages are some clues to the real man – the individual that the *Heike Monogatari* chooses to occlude. Principally among these are the poignant accounts of her final communications with Sukemori. Believing that he could die at any time, he asks her to perform religious rites on his behalf, and indicates that he will break communication with her, wanting to sever his worldly ties. Despite this, he continues to make intermittent contact, until she finally hears word of his death.[550]

Unlike his brothers Koremori and Kiyotsune, both of whom deserted the Taira military encampment and fled to remote locations to commit suicide, Sukemori stays with his family to the last. While historical records suggest that he would have preferred to disentangle himself from the complicated political situation, he ultimately stayed with them, exhibiting loyalty to his family above that to his lover or his own life.[551] Where Koremori and Kiyotsune enact control over when they die and how, Sukemori leaves his fate to the fate of the family, choosing to live so long as the Taira cause endured. If not for Ukyō no Daibu's account, Sukemori may have disappeared from historical interest, remembered only for the awkward clash of horse and carriages that signifies such a negative step in court-Taira relations in the *Heike* corpus. Even so, Sukemori's existence remains fleeting – even his real age at the time of the *Denka*

[548] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:57–60.
[549] Kusaka, *Heike Monogatari Tendoku*, 241.
[550] Ukyo no Daibu 102-127
[551] Takahashi, *Heike No Gunzō*, 142–43.

Noriai incident is unknown. Only the memorial stone engraved with his name at the Akama Shrine in Shimonoseki offers tangible proof to the Genpei tourist of a young life lived and lost.

Fig 25: Sukemori's gravestone at the Seven Taira (Nanamori) memorial, Akama Shrine, Shimonoseki[552]

The reason why Sukemori is not more praised for his doomed loyalty to his family may stem from the fact that both loyalty to the Taira and prolongation of one's own life in a hopeless situation are represented in the *Heike Monogatari* corpus as being negative traits. Sukemori's choice to fight with his family, rather than leave and choose death, is the wrong decision. The pathos of Koremori's suicide, by comparison, is one of the great tragic scenes of the *Heike Monogatari*, showing Koremori accepting the

[552] Photograph E A Woolley, 15th March, 2017

doomed nature of his family's line and fortune and, like his father before him, choosing to embrace death of his own free will.[553] Kiyotsune's suicide has also become a focal point for literary creativity. The *Kakuichibon Heike*, for example, frames his death as a choice made towards the light of Buddha rather than the dark fate of the Taira as court enemies.[554] *Genpei Jōsuiki* adds a tragic love story to the tale, and it has also been depicted in *Nō* drama. [555] *Genpei Jōsuiki* contains the least critical account of Sukemori's behaviour in the *Denka Noriai* episode, and it is possible that one of the reasons is because his persistence espouses an ideal featured frequently throughout the text - that loyalty to one's lord is essential no matter how dire the circumstances. With that said, Sukemori's role in *Genpei Jōsuiki* is largely neutral, and although he is depicted dying at the battle of Kojima, rather than at Dannoura, the text tells us little about his involvement in the fight.[556] This Chapter highlights how the strategic inclusion or removal of a horse in this story helps to change the overall nuance of the scene, thus shifting blame and criticism between characters.

Unlike the scenes discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the *Denka Noriai* story has not been widely represented in either pre-modern art or drama. Although easier to corroborate as a historical event, *Denka Noriai* has not inspired much attention beyond the *Heike* corpus texts themselves. This stands in contrast to other scenes, including the *Ujigawa Senjin* mentioned in Chapter Three, whose popularity greatly benefitted from dramatic and artistic representation throughout the Edo period. Despite the lack of equivalent interest in adapting *Denka Noriai* for stage or illustration, the tale has not disappeared into obscurity. This staying power demonstrates how the circulation of *Heike* corpus texts has perpetuated certain stories, keeping them in the spotlight. Analysis of such stories helps our direct understanding of the diverse narratives contained within each variant, rather than being heavily influenced by later interpretations.

While it does not have an enduring presence in Edo period adaptation, evidence of *Denka Noriai*'s prominence can be found in more modern portrayals, where it continues to be featured as a key moment and cornerstone in narrating the descent into war. The *Heike Monogatari Rekishikan* (literally, "Heike Monogatari History

[553] *Heike Monogatari (2)*, 30:326–31.
[554] Morley, "Kiyotsune."
[555] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:90–91; Morley, "Kiyotsune."
[556] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:42.

Museum") in the city of Takamatsu (site of the Genpei battle of Yashima) includes among its collection of seventeen *Heike*-themed wax tableaux an extensive area dedicated to the *Denka Noriai* scene. Two television drama series produced by Japanese broadcaster NHK – *Yoshitsune* in 2005 and *Taira no Kiyomori* in 2012 – also both give extensive airtime to the event in the lead-up to war.[557] The *Taira no Kiyomori* drama also includes Motomori as an active participant, bringing him back into the public eye, and Motomori's role will be addressed in more detail later in the chapter. The involvement of the *Denka Noriai* incident in modern depictions of the *Heike* story underscores its continued importance as a factor in the descent into war. Unlike anecdotes whose popularity and fame are bolstered by later adaptations, *Denka Noriai* offers the opportunity to examine a *Heike* story on its own merit. Contemporary representations of this tale not only indicate continuing emphasis on it as an important aspect of the tale, but also that analysis of it is currently relevant to a greater extent than it might have been in the Edo period.

The Takamatsu museum's interest in using horse imagery to present not only the *Denka Noriai*, but as a tool to navigate the whole Genpei period, is clearly visible from the start of the exhibition. Hoofprints on the floor show the route around the seventeen wax displays that make up the museum's version of the *Heike Monogatari*. Of all the displays these hoofprints lead visitors to see, the largest is the one devoted to the *Denka Noriai*. This exhibit shows Sukemori, fully robed in armour and astride his horse, watching his retainers brutally attack and humiliate the Regent Motofusa's attendants.[558] Motofusa himself, trapped in his carriage, has an expression of utter terror, while Sukemori, here the antagonist, has adolescent dissatisfaction carved into his features.

[557] NHK Taiga Drama "*Yoshitsune*" (2005) Episode 7, "Yume no Miyako", Episode 8 "*Ketsubetsu*"; NHK Taiga Drama "*Taira no Kiyomori*" (2012) Episode 37 "*Denka Noriai Jiken*"
[558] A museum layout map demonstrates that display #4, where *Denka Noriai* is housed, is the largest exhibit. http://www.heike-rekishikan.jp/kannai2.htm referenced 19th June 2018.


figs 26 and 27 "Victim" Motofusa and "Villain" Sukemori conveyed in their expressions. Takamatsu Heike Rekishikan.[559]

In Chapter Two, I discussed how the position of villain and victim in the Konoshita dispute was largely fluid between different textual representations. What makes the Takamatsu *Denka Noriai* display especially significant is the bold way it presents Sukemori as the overall villain of the story. He alone is depicted on horseback in the exhibit, suggesting that he is the military officer in charge. This presentation also characterises him as a warrior, rather than as a courtier – emphasising a divide in status between him and his victim – a statement further reinforced by the fact that the Regent's retinue all wear courtly robes. Although armed, they appear helpless against the violent assault of the Rokuhara men. This scene reinforces the traditional idea that Sukemori and his family are in the wrong, with Motofusa the innocent victim of their excesses.

[559] All pictures from the *Heike Rekishikan* by EA Woolley, taken with permission of the museum, 18th April 2017

fig 28: Denka Noriai conflict as depicted at the Heike Monogatari Rekishikan, Takamatsu.

fig 29: Soldiers assault a courtier during the Denka Noriai incident, Heike Monogatari Rekishikan.

Although crediting the *Denka Noriai* chapter of the *Heike Monogatari* as its source material, however, the museum deviates from the original version by making Sukemori's villainous role so prominent in the display. While *Denka Noriai* lacks pre-modern reinterpretation in Nō or Bunraku drama, it has been reinterpreted for a twentieth century audience instead. The result reinforces these ideas of victim and villain in a particularly stark manner.

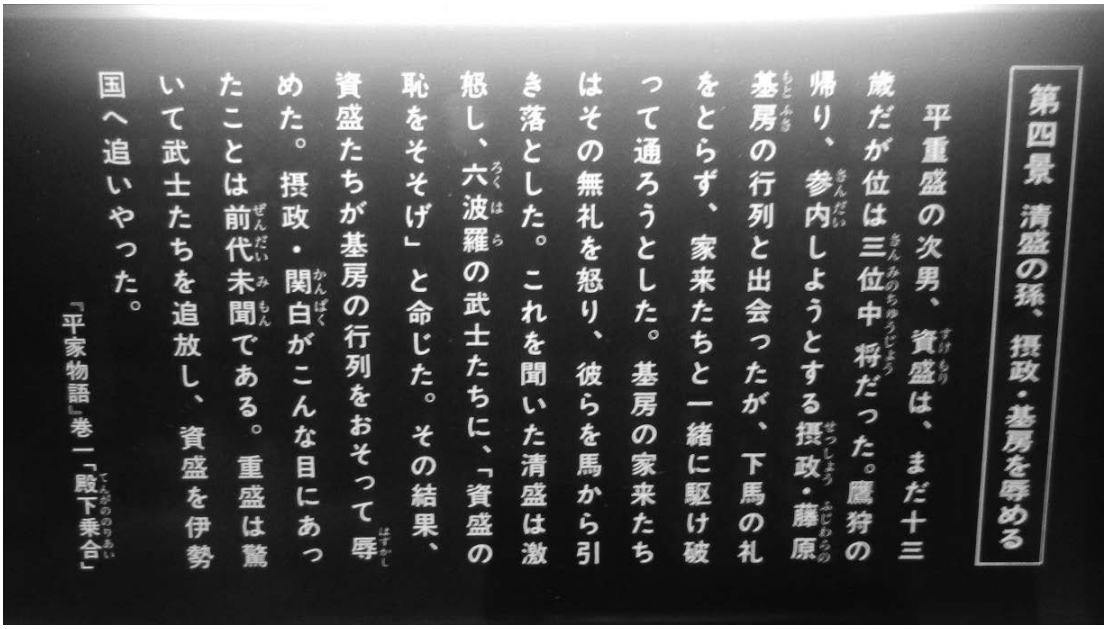

fig 30: Labelling from Display #4, including citation from Heike Monogatari 'Denka Noriai'.

Although he is criticised in many variants for the initial incident where he fails to dismount, Sukemori plays no direct part in the revenge attack in any textual *Heike Monogatari* variant. While it can be understood that the museum, in only being able to dedicate attention to one aspect of the overall story, has merged some of the ideas into one display, there are also deeper issues at work here which carry resonance back to the original Heike texts. Like the Heike corpus, the Takamatsu museum constructs an overall narrative of the Genpei story, using the *Denka Noriai* as a significant lynchpin to justify its approach in legitimising the Genji victory. At both the entrance of the museum, and at points throughout the exhibition, are wooden panels featuring the insignia of the Minamoto family. The selected scenes present in linear fashion the rise and subsequent overreach of Taira arrogance and authority, and the victorious Minamoto, led by Yoshitsune, who send them to their defeat. The Takamatsu museum includes scenes that portray a particularly negative view of the Taira's grasp on power, including Kiyomori's monstrous visions at Fukuhara, but completely omits the

significant role played by Kiso Yoshinaka, perhaps to conceal the complicated relationship between Yoshinaka and the rest of the Genji during the conflict. The Takamatsu museum encourages its visitors to view this as a tale of good (Yoshitsune) triumphing over evil (Kiyomori and his progeny), and thus Sukemori's active role as villain contributes to the image of an overbearing and tyrannical dynasty with no respect for their court peers and superiors.

In its own way, the Takamatsu museum has constructed a modern-day telling of the *Heik*e. While it is true that the museum is not a text in the traditional sense, the website styles the exhibition as a period *emaki*, or picture scroll, from 800 years ago.[560] Although it calls itself a history museum (*rekishikan*), its intent is not to tell the history of the *Heike Monogatari's* textual evolution, but rather to tell the history of the Genpei War *in the manner of* a *Heike* corpus text, including selected scenes and cited descriptions to reinforce its version of the story. Within its wax-model pages, Sukemori has become yet more precocious and self-interested, fostering a vindictive desire to witness the downfall of Motofusa's men personally. The decision to use this scene, and the amount of space in the museum dedicated to it, seems to relate to the fact that most versions of the *Heike Monogatari* identify this incident as the start of the Taira abuses of power or 'evil deeds' (*akugyō*). Sukemori's actions are pivotal in signposting what lies ahead, and for the Takamatsu narrative that validates the Minamoto victory. In order to reinforce Sukemori's position of power and his negative intent, the display presents him on horseback, where everyone else is on foot.

[560] 「800 年前の時代絵巻」 quoted from http://www.heike-rekishikan.jp/kannai2.htm, accessed 16th June 2018

fig 31 : Sukemori on horseback, watching the attack on Motofusa.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of the Takamatsu scene, considered in conjunction with the significance of the *Denka Noriai* scene and its traditional position in the *Heike* corpus as the beginning of the Taira's misdeeds. Given that there is a dearth of material from the Edo period to demonstrate an interest in dramatically adapting this scene, the Takamatsu museum must have drawn its narrative directly from the corpus itself, a suggestion borne out by its citation of the Kakuichibon Heike Monogatari on its signage (*fig 30*). At the same time, and like the Edo period depictions of the scenes discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the Takamatsu museum has constructed its own adaptation of the story for a more contemporary audience. Its emphasis on Sukemori as the villain demonstrates how entrenched this view is in cultural understanding of the Genpei War, and how this interpretation has swallowed up Sukemori as both a character in a War Tale and as a historical figure. To understand why Sukemori is presented in such a negative light in a modern museum requires a deeper understanding of how he has been presented in the Heike corpus itself, and what we can learn from these depictions about the role played by *Denka Noriai* in conflicting *Heike* variants. Beginning with an analysis of the traditional tale that inspired the Takamatsu museum display, this chapter will then move into a deeper assessment of how *Genpei Jōsuiki* presents the scene, and how the removal of a horse in this version of the story has wider implications for the portrayal of Taira misconduct overall.

Denka Noriai and the Start of the Taira's Evil Deeds

Most *Heike* variants tell the same overall story of the *Denka Noriai* incident. The tale takes place in the winter of Kaō 2 (1170), on a snowy day on which Sukemori and some young samurai have been hunting in the plains of Rendaino. As night falls, they head for home, enjoying the snowy weather. They encounter the Regent's party but refuse to acknowledge him or dismount their horses. This enrages the Regent's men, who demand to know who they are, and tell them to dismount. Sukemori's party, all young men under the age of twenty, refuse and try to continue their journey forward. Sukemori is described as proud and haughty, and he and his companions ignorant of the proper rules of etiquette. The Regent's party are also unaware (or in the case of the *Kakuichibon,* possibly pretending to be unaware[561]) that they are dealing with Kiyomori's grandson, and they forcibly dismount the party, scattering them. Sukemori and his companions hurry home. Here, the story differs slightly between texts. The *Engyōbon* states that Sukemori attempts to cover up the incident, as he and his companions urge each other not to say anything.[562] In spite of that, it is not possible to keep the matter a secret, and Kiyomori finds out. In the *Kakuichibon* and the *Amakusabon,* Sukemori goes to complain to Kiyomori directly at Rokuhara.[563] The *Nagatobon* embellishes this report by having Sukemori in tears at the time he speaks to his grandfather[564], while the *Kakuichibon* indicates that Sukemori goes furtively to Kiyomori to make his report, perhaps suggesting that he is bypassing his father's authority to appeal straight to his grandfather about this matter.[565]

The *Engyōbon* and *Nagatobon* add a tantalising clue that may connect back to the claim that Sukemori was once considered Shigemori's heir apparent. Both texts describe Kiyomori's rage as being motivated by the insult to his 'beloved' (*saiai* 最愛) grandson.[566] The choice of the term *saiai*, incorporating the character for 'most', 最, suggests a nuance that Sukemori is Kiyomori's most beloved grandson of all. This helps to foster the idea that Sukemori was Shigemori's intended heir and thus a person of some importance in Kiyomori's dynastic ambitions. Such an implication is supported by

[561] *Heike Monogatari (1),* 29:78.
[562] *Engyōbon*, 1:312.
[563] *Feiqe Monogatari*, 15; *Heike Monogatari (1),* 29:78.
[564] *Nagatobon,* 1:15.
[565] *Heike Monogatari (1),* 29:78.
[566] *Nagatobon,* 1:15; *Engyōbon,* 1:319.

Gyokuyō's contemporary claim that Sukemori began as Shigemori's *chakunan*, or heir.[567] Moreover, by attacking and forcibly dismounting Kiyomori's projected future heir, the Regent's men are making a direct assault on Taira authority. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, a dismount can indicate a wider fall of power and influence beyond that of the individual, and individuals can be used as avatars for wider causes. The two types of dismount are utilised in this scene to reflect bigger power struggles between two political factions vying for influence. Sukemori's refusal to dismount reflects his lack of respect for the status of the Regental house, thus implying that he sees himself as their equal or even superior. By contrast, the forced dismount by the Regent's men of Sukemori and his retinue indicate their belief that Sukemori's family are inferior and must be punished for their lack of respect. A complicated political situation is thus reduced to a matter of saddle etiquette, and these two types of dismount are used in these texts to indicate a fractious and unstable political hierarchy.

Once Shigemori discovers his father's anger at the incident, he tries to intercede, explaining that it would be a bad idea for Kiyomori to react and that reaction against the Regental house is inappropriate due to their difference in rank. He states that it would be all right to get angry if the incident had been perpetrated by a Genji – perceived by the text to be their social equals - but not against members of the Regental family. He also indicates Sukemori was at fault for not dismounting his horse immediately, reinforcing the Regental view of the hierarchy by accepting that his family are warriors, and thus inferior to nobility. Kiyomori, by contrast, is more sympathetic to Sukemori's view of the Taira's status. He sees the incident as an insult to his family's standing, and ignores Shigemori's advice, summoning warriors to undertake a revenge mission. The decision is made to target the Emperor's Coming-of-Age ceremony, and Kiyomori sends warriors who believe his word matters above all things and who are shown to take pleasure in their task, letting out war cries of triumph once the deed is done. Kiyomori's planned revenge also demonstrates that this is about status and honour, rather than a true military confrontation. At no point is there ever any suggestion of individuals being killed on either side. It is a moral battle for a place in the hierarchy, rather than an actual battle between warriors and courtiers.

[567] Obayashi, "Taira Sukemori Shōden: Sono Ichi," 1–3.

The events of the revenge attack differ slightly between variant texts, but in each case the Regent's men are assaulted and their topknots are cut. After most of his retinue have fled the scene, and with his ox-carriage vandalised, Motofusa takes shelter at the house of a lower-class stranger. He is subsequently rescued by one of his lowly ox-drivers, Kunihisamaru, who proceeds to pull Motofusa to safety. Shigemori scolds his son, telling Sukemori he has been unfilial and has brought his grandfather's name into disrepute. In the *Kakuichibon* and the *Amakusabon* he goes one step further, sending Sukemori to Ise to reflect on his actions.[568]

In this thesis, I discuss other examples in the War Tales where a dismount presages the defeat of an individual or a cause, whether in battle or in another context (Dismount Principle). Sukemori initially resists the instruction to dismount, clinging on to his position of authority by trying to remain in the saddle. He is forcibly dismounted by the Regent's men. By pulling Sukemori from his horse, Motofusa's retainers' actions signpost Sukemori's potential downfall in court terms as well. Obayashi and Takahashi have both remarked on how Sukemori's court promotions slowed down in comparison to those of his cousins following 1170.[569] If the *Denka Noriai* scene did lead to his demotion from the position of *chakunan*, as Obayashi suggests, then the use of the horse in the *Denka Noriai* scene may also indicate Sukemori's social stagnation following the event. It makes sense that the compilers of the *Heike* corpus texts would choose to explain Sukemori's fall from grace by utilising the horse and the trope of the dismount to indicate to the audience this damage to his political career. Kosukegawa has outlined how the traditional version of the *Denka Noriai* scene creates a simple and easy to understand explanation of the actual events, removing unnecessary complications and historical details to underscore this incident as the beginning of the Taira abuses of power – abuses that would ultimately lead to their overall destruction.[570] He highlights specifically how Sukemori's refusal to dismount (or his lack of knowledge of the correct procedure) provides an easy and effective way to explain to the audience his arrogance and thus the arrogance of the Taira overall. Just as the horse was used in the *Mutsu Waki* to demonstrate the victories and defeats of a nine-year war, here Sukemori's forced dismount at the hands of the Regent's men demonstrates a broader rejection of Taira authority by the court. The motif of a dismount is used to show the

[568] *Feiqe Monogatari*, 17; *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:80.
[569] Takahashi, *Heike No Gunzō*, 68, 79,.
[570] Kosukegawa, "Genpei Jōsuiki No Hizuke Settei," 18.

individual fall of Sukemori as a political figure, and, by association, the impending fall of the Taira as a family.

In all these different *Heike* texts, this event is described as the start of the Taira bad deeds. As the *Amakusabon* text uses romanisation based on Portuguese phonetics, I have Romanised the text of all versions:

Kakuichibon	*Kore koso Heike no akugyō no hajime nare*[571] (This precise matter was the start of the Heike's evil deeds)
Amakusabon	*Core ga Feiqe no acuguiö no fajime to qicoyete gozaru*[572] (I have heard that this was the start of the Heike's evil deeds)
Engyōbon	*Kore zo Heike no akugyō no hajime naru*[573] (This was the start of the Heike's evil deeds.)
Nagatobon	*Kore zo Heike no akugyō no hajime naru*[574] (This was the start of the Heike's evil deeds.)

Fig 32: "Evil Deeds" statement comparison between texts.

Each text uses approximately the same phrasing - although the *Amakusabon* has been reworked into vernacular sixteenth-century dialogue, the preface explains that it has been based on a 1350 text.[575] As with the example in Chapter Two, the *Kakuichibon* is the most emphatic, using *koso* to firmly single out the importance of the incident. The *Engyōbon* and *Nagatobon* use identical phrasing, and other aspects of both texts imply that one was probably used as the basis for the other – most likely the *Engyōbon* account being the original, although the date of the *Nagatobon* text is not known. All

[571] *Heike Monogatari (1),* 29:80.
[572] *Feiqe Monogatari*, 17.
[573] *Engyōbon*, 1:331.
[574] *Nagatobon,* 1:60.
[575] Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan. 1591-1610.*, 16.

texts indicate that the *Denka Noriai* event is the beginning of the Taira evil deeds - *akugyō no hajime*.

Kusaka has commented on the way in which this scene relates to those around it to emphasise the story as proof of Taira arrogance. The *Kakuichibon* suggests that the Imperial accession of Kiyomori's nephew, Takakura, and the *Denka Noriai* incident follow one another, implying that the accession is also part of the Taira family grasping power. As Kusaka describes, however, the accession was decided by Takakura's father, Go Shirakawa, and was accelerated due to Kiyomori falling ill in the second month of Nian 3 (1168). The *Kakuichibon* tries to disconnect Kiyomori's illness – which would have made his direct involvement unlikely – and the accession by pushing the former back to the eleventh month. This tampering with the timeline demonstrates that it is not just the *Denka Noriai* incidents that have altered dates, but that the formatting of surrounding scenes also contributes to how the traditional version of the story is perceived by the audience.[576] Although *Denka Noriai* is a historical event, the reframing of its political context helps the *Heike* variants to elevate its importance as a step on the road towards the inevitable downfall of the Taira family. Just as Chapter Two demonstrates how a horse can connect men to war, here Sukemori, through his depiction on horseback, is marked out as the first offender. The use of the term *hajime*, or 'first', indicates that this will not be an isolated incident, and hints at many more Taira abuses to come.

Wisdom, Rank and the Courtly Warrior, Michisada

In most versions of the text, not only Sukemori but his companions are described as extremely young, and thus ignorant of the proper rules of etiquette. In the *Kakuichibon* and *Amakusabon,* the accompanying samurai are said to be under twenty, while the *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon* indicate that they are around the ages of sixteen or seventeen.[577] Sukemori himself is identified as being thirteen years old, giving the audience the mental image of a group of unsupervised teenagers. The relevance of age is made starker by the *Nagatobon* and *Engyōbon*, both of whom parallel the youth issue with the introduction of an unnamed older man given as being 'over fifty' who is the

[576] Kusaka, *Ikusa monogatari no sekai*, 131–32.
[577] *Feiqe Monogatari*, 14; *Nagatobon*, 1:15; *Heike Monogatari (1)*, 29:77; *Engyōbon*, 1:312.

only one able to explain the meaning of a mysterious object left outside the gates of the Taira manor following the Regent's humiliation.

If we consider this one event as the start of the Taira bad deeds, we can also hypothesise that the teenage Sukemori, overly proud and ignorant of manners, is an avatar for the Taira family themselves, new to power and thus not observing the usual rules and customs to get where they want to be. Kiyomori's swift rise and the monopoly that the Taira family began to have on government offices in the late twelfth century were known to cause discontent among the traditional and established families such as the Fujiwara. Kanezane, in his *Gyokuyō* diary, comments on Kiyomori's plans for international trade as being the 'work of devils'.[578] The old man appears as the experienced Fujiwara, who knows the correct procedures and the respect that is due to those with a long political history in the noble class. Only an old man can interpret the meaning behind the object left in mockery at the Taira estate – and only the Fujiwara can (in their own estimation) determine and decipher the correct court processes to govern Japan in the proper way. The trope of an unnamed old person explaining an incident or past precedent is not uncommon in pre-modern Japanese texts. Some history tracts use the recollections of older people to frame their accounts of the past, such as the old nun who narrates the *Masukagami* (Clear Mirror).[579] The implication that one who has lived longer is in possession of greater knowledge is a familiar concept which would have been understood by the audience of the *Nagatobon* text, making such a nuanced comparison possible.

The *Engyōbon* features an additional character in its telling of the scene. This is Michisada, a young man of military skill, who, aged about seventeen or eighteen, fights with courage and thus protects his honour. Although he is young, he is also depicted as astute and skilled, blurring the usual stereotype that age brings wisdom. Instead, Michisada's allegiances and his accomplishments serve as his wisdom, and these are underpinned by his courtly awareness as well as through his acts of loyal service to his lord, Motofusa. It is clear that the audience is supposed to have high expectations of Michisada before he appears, because Kiyomori singles him out before the encounter is even underway:

[578] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 203.
[579] Masukagami

> Among [the Regent's men] is the Governor of Sagami Province, Michisada. I would suppose that he's a man of approximately seventeen or eighteen years. He is a descendant of Tomohira Shinnō and his father and grandfather before him were known for their military skill.[580]

Michisada is militarily trained, a man who knows his place and understands his duty, both in armour and to the Regental house. As such, he is depicted as a skilled warrior capable of foiling the evil intentions of Kiyomori's men. By presenting him in such a fashion, Michisada is directly juxtaposed against Kiyomori's own men, who are dismissed as *kata-inakazamurai*, or 'low-ranking country bumpkin samurai'. The text suggests Kiyomori's forces are inferior, and not the same calibre of respectable military officers serving the court elite. By implication, Kiyomori's cause appears less legitimate, as he is not able to attain the services of good quality men to follow his commands. As earlier analysis has demonstrated, a warrior's position as either central or peripheral often relates to the legitimacy of their position in the hierarchy, and their loyalty to the master they serve. Michisada is militarily trained and skilled in his art. He is descended from a strong warrior house, but at the same time, he holds court rank, serves the Regent, and claims Imperial descent. He is a warrior and appointed as the Governor of Sagami, which connects him to eastern territory, but, by serving the Regent, he is also tied to the capital. He has conflicting positions as both courtly and military, with multiple geographical connections. These contradictions blur the lines between centrality and peripherality, but Michisada's actions demonstrate that he is neither wild nor liminal. His loyal service to his lord, Motofusa, ties him to a position of legitimacy, and thus centrality within this scene. By contrast, the provincial samurai in Kiyomori's pay are both geographically identified as coming from outside the capital and culturally distant from proper court etiquette. They follow Kiyomori's commands essentially because they do not know better and are soon outwitted by Michisada's superior skill. Their lack of knowledge and their inability to understand the expected political hierarchy makes them appear as the peripheral entities in this confrontation. Kiyomori's association with these *inakazamurai* reinforces the idea that, in spite of their elevated ranks, the Taira remain outsiders. Their acquisition of rank above their status undermines the legitimacy of their position. A similar distinction can be found in the *Mutsu Waki* analysis from Chapter One, where the Abe's forces are marked out as the

[580] *Engyōbon*, 1:320.

enemy by terms such as *zoku* (bandit), making them appear rough and undisciplined in comparison to the more legitimate *kangun* (court army) of Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie.

Although they have gained promotions and accrued influence, Kiyomori's inferior military force and their inability to challenge Michisada demonstrate how empty Taira ranks are within the court hierarchy. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, the behaviour of Nakatsuna and Kiō exposed Munemori as marginalised from the political scene. Sukemori and Kiyomori's behaviour and associates also mark them out as peripheral entities who will never be good enough to deserve the ranks they have attained. By contrast, Michisada is the ideal warrior, who, despite his courtly values and impressive bloodline, understands his position in the hierarchy as subservient and loyal to noble commands, rather than trying to supersede them. The *Engyōbon* includes the contrast seen in the *Nagatobon* between youth and age, adding the extra dimensions of centre and periphery, court etiquette and the rough behaviour of perceived outsiders. We see the contrast of Sukemori's youth and ignorance versus the unnamed old man's age and wisdom, but also the skill and honour of the young warrior Michisada who knows his place, juxtaposed against the Rokuhara ruffians who do not. Although Kiyomori has sent more than sixty riders to inconvenience the Regent, Michisada is capable of evading the attentions of all of them, further implying that they are not really warriors so much as yobs on horses sent to cause damage and distress.

Kiō's theft of Munemori's horse in Chapter Two marks a small triumph in the bigger picture of Yorimasa's family's overall destruction. In a similar way, Michisada's victory against Kiyomori's *inakazamurai* is also a minor victory for the Regent's party in an otherwise complete defeat. Motofusa's companions are scattered and many flee, leaving him abandoned and in need of rescue from a stranger's home by a lowly ox-hand. Yet Michisada offers a shred of hope to the reader that while this is a lost battle, it is not the end of the war. Michisada protects his topknot and his honour, and ultimately triumphs in adversity. His actions reinforce the idea that Taira authority, while significant, is lacking in substance and can be thwarted. Michisada's dismount is shown as being proactive – he leaps from his horse into the battle, (*uma yori tobiorite*) rather than fleeing in disgrace.[581] While the forced dismounts of his companions leads to a humiliating fate, in Michisada's case, this shame is avoided, because his dismount is a

[581] 1:321.

conscious action made in order to fight his rivals. Although his companions are scattered and defeated, he is not. Just as Yoshiie is able to maintain his positive momentum following the initial catastrophic defeat of the court forces in the *Mutsu Waki*, so Michisada, by using his skill, guile and courage, is protected from the humiliation shared by his peers. The distinction is more nuanced than that of the *Mutsu Waki*, but equally effective in its presentation.

In the *Kakuichibon* and *Amakusabon* texts, it is not Kiyomori who is punished for the incident, but Sukemori. Shigemori's scolding of his son results in Sukemori being exiled to Ise, outside of the capital, for his crime of being unfilial and thus bringing his grandfather's name into disrepute. The *Kakuichibon* and *Amakusabon* texts express displeasure at Kiyomori's actions, marginalising the attack as peripheral behaviour through the geographical removal of Sukemori from the heart of Kyoto power. Sukemori becomes a scapegoat for Kiyomori's action, because although his wilful behaviour triggered the conflict, Sukemori is not directly involved in attacking anyone. It is perhaps this nuance that has influenced the Takamatsu museum to depict Sukemori at the scene of the Regent's humiliation, helping to cement Sukemori as the villain whose actions triggered the start of Taira misdeeds in most versions of the narrative.

Carriage vs Horse: Sukemori's Individual Responsibility

The most recognisable feature of the *Denka Noriai* incident is that which Selinger touches on in her analysis of the scene – carriages versus horses. Selinger's assessment that this is symbolic of friction between social classes is one possible explanation for why Sukemori is given a horse instead of a carriage in most versions of this scene. Selinger describes the story as a clash of two worlds; that of the warrior and that of the established traditions of the court and the Imperial house. She states,

> It is an encounter rife with implications about the clash of worlds. Sukemori is returning from a day of sport, Motofusa from a day of duties at the palace. Sukemori is, like his horse, untamed, having spent the day hunting, while Motofusa upholds civilised decorum, insisting on the rule that riders dismount before the Regent.[582]

Selinger's analysis depends entirely on the traditional version of the story, in which the events take place within a week of each other, and in which Sukemori is on horseback.

[582] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 147.

The contrast of colliding worlds and the liminal implications for the future of the court and traditional Imperial power raised in her argument are valid ones which must be considered. Young Taira like Sukemori, born from warrior families, are also being promoted as men of noble rank, becoming the ruling class and adding to political tensions.

Selinger uses Sukemori's hunt to identify elements of wildness in his mounted figure, in direct contrast to the ordered presentation of Motofusa in his driven ox-carriage. She concludes that

> The fracas…between the Regent Motofusa and Taira Sukemori is thus the sparring of rank and prestige (which the carriage marked and preserved in aristocratic society) with the newfound power of military aristocrats.[583]

Selinger argues that the warrior is a liminal and peripheral entity, but as I have previously demonstrated, warriors can be central and peripheral, depending on the context. Selinger's framing of the scene as a clash between two distinct worlds also becomes problematic when considering the *Engyōbon*'s use of Michisada, who straddles this boundary, blurring the court and the warrior into one single entity. Selinger cites Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki*, which mentions the shift from carriages to horses in the streets of Kyoto.[584] Chōmei, however, does not separate the concept of courtier and warrior in this delineation – instead he talks disparagingly, not of the rise of warriors into military aristocrats but rather that men of aristocratic lineage are imitating the warriors by wearing riding clothing and appearing on horseback instead of in the ox-carriage. [585] Viewed in this light, we can see Sukemori's transition from carriage to horse in the *Denka Noriai* scene more as demonstrating this change in cultural practice, rather than the domination of warrior culture over that of the court. Osakabe highlights the problems with a binary division of characters into the 'military' or 'court' roles, or in assigning Taira family members exclusively to either of these groups.[586] It is true that Michisada only appears in one version of the text, but his existence and his blurred status as both man of court and man of war invite us to consider other potential explanations.

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[583] Selinger, 149.
[584] Selinger, 142–43.
[585] *Hōjōki*, 27:32.
[586] Osakabe, "Heike Monogatari No Settokubu Ni Saguru Taira No Shigemori No Koudou Genri," 78.

Sukemori's transformation from a young boy in a carriage coming back from a flute lesson to an 'untamed' individual on horseback may be another strategy of the text to make the Taira peripheral to Motofusa's centrality, as Selinger suggests. I believe, however, that the role of the horse in this scene, as in others, is not simply inserted to effect a contrast of classes and ruling mentalities. My analysis in other chapters regarding Konoshita as a 'suspicious steed' and Ikezuki's 'lake of hell' connections demonstrate how the horse itself can be a liminal entity, connecting men to conflict and acts of misconduct. But, as I have shown in the example of Yoritomo straddling the land of Japan, it can also be a centralising entity, bringing order where its power is under the control of the rider. Selinger suggests that Sukemori is untamed, like his horse – but this is in fact not the case. While there are accounts, particularly in the *Konjaku Monogatari* that detail warriors proving their merit by trying to tame and ride wild horses, Sukemori's horse is not described as being either wild or in any way dangerous or strange.[587] In fact, it is only mentioned explicitly in terms of Sukemori's forced dismount by the Regental attendants. It seems unlikely that Sukemori's horse, on which he successfully rode to the hunting grounds, hunted, and then returned to Kyoto is in any way 'wild'. The horse does not rear up, or bolt, or play any significant role in the scene that might influence Sukemori's actions or play a part in his behaviour. The *Heike* corpus variants thus tell us that *Sukemori himself* has negative character traits, not his horse. Sukemori's mount is a nameless, tamed beast, entirely at the command of his master. By making Sukemori's horse entirely under his control, the *Heike* corpus texts convey blame on Sukemori himself for the disruption. In refusing to dismount, Sukemori consciously rejects the social hierarchy, and thus disrespects the position of the Regent. He also abuses his position of power, demonstrated by his control of the horse, to convey this insult. His desire to stay in the saddle in most Heike variants, even if it means insulting the accepted court protocol, reflects the arrogance of the Taira overall in exacting their increasing stranglehold over the throne and government. By forcibly dismounting Sukemori as an avatar of this arrogance, the resistance of the court to Taira authority becomes clear.

Although the horse is not named and clearly not wild or 'other' in its behaviour, Sukemori's forcible dismount is still significant to the story. As the Takamatsu wax display so effectively demonstrates, a warrior on horseback has a particularly powerful

[587] *Konjaku Monogatari Shū (4)*, 36:379–80.

image of independence and individual choice. Sukemori may not have been able to easily dismount his carriage in the actual clash, even had he wanted to do so. As Kusaka has theorised, it is unclear whether, in the real incident, Sukemori really did refuse to dismount, or was just unable to do so in the tight space available – a problem removed from the equation by his transition from carriage to horse.[588] On horseback, he is able to make the judgement to dismount or otherwise. By putting him in a position where he can make this choice for himself, it is easier for the texts to criticise his decision not to observe what the *Heike* corpus describes as proper manners. This simple shift from a mode of transport he does not control, to one that he does, helps to demonise Sukemori's role in the scene. He is not led astray by his horse, but uses it to reinforce his misconduct, validating the violence shown towards him by the Regent's men.

Although Selinger discusses the Regent insisting on protocol, there is no actual evidence in the *Heike* corpus extracts that Motofusa himself gives the instruction or expectation of a dismount. It is his attendants and mounted retinue that, on his behalf, become offended and take it upon themselves to interfere. Motofusa is lacking in power when the incident occurs. Instead, it is the actions of his companions, several of whom are mounted on horseback, which dictates the flow of the scene and the descent into chaos. In the same way as Sukemori and his companions are given control of their own actions by being on horseback, so the Regent's mounted retinue are equally capable of starting a dispute because they, too, are free to act, even without a direct command. Most versions of the *Heike Monogatari* place responsibility on Sukemori for the encounter by putting him on a horse, and at the same time, takes responsibility *from* Motofusa by concealing him inside his ox-carriage. This helplessness is further emphasised by the fact that, until Kunihisamaru comes to his rescue, Motofusa is essentially stranded and unable to act, even to return to the palace or his home. He is textually confined by the carriage, a prisoner of the event in which he has become embroiled. This contrast helps to emphasise Sukemori (and perhaps, the mounted retinue of the Regent) as the villains and antagonists in the scene, while Motofusa, trapped in his carriage, is a victim because he has no active control over events as they unfold around him. Just as the forced dismount in the earlier confrontation indicates Sukemori's fall from grace, the forced dismount of Motofusa's retainers in the retaliation also precipitates their cowardly flight from the scene. Some of these

[588] Kusaka, *Heike Monogatari Tendoku*, 22.

individuals subsequently take religious vows and withdraw from the world, their political momentum entirely destroyed. Their loss of face also adds to Motofusa's humiliation. His abandonment in unfamiliar territory and his rescue by a lower ranked individual creates the sense that what was once politically central is now being forced to the periphery.

Overall, the traditional versions of the tale, with their minor variations, offer a revealing insight into the mindset of their compilers. The rearrangement of scenes and events as cited by Kusaka, as well as the conflicting themes of age, rank and the blurring of status in the example of individuals like Michisada add to nuanced themes of what comprises central and peripheral behaviour. These concepts marginalise the Taira who hold court rank but are still outsiders and not accepted. The use of the horse also allows Sukemori to become actively responsible for the initial incident, rather than a victim of circumstance, which is the portrayal Motofusa largely receives. The horse also permits the audience to understand other consequences of the conflict that are not explicitly stated, such as Sukemori's potential loss of position as Shigemori's heir, and the subsequent taking of religious vows by some of the individuals whose hair was cut in the revenge attack.

These elements all combine to create a story of villain (Sukemori) and victim (Motofusa), putting in play much bigger issues, leading to resentment and ultimately the Genpei War. While not the immediate trigger for the outbreak of fighting, this incident is framed by these texts as being the start of the Taira's evil deeds, thus tracing the threads of the conflict back to the decision of Sukemori not to dismount. Sukemori thus becomes the scapegoat, foretelling what comes next. I will now move on to discussing the *Genpei Jōsuiki* version of this scene, evaluating its differences and exploring the possible reasons behind its telling of the tale in order to demonstrate how *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses this story to construct a much broader conflict, rather than as a focal point for the beginning of Taira misdeeds.

Genpei Jōsuiki *and the question of blame.*

Although generally accepted to be the most distinct version of the *Denka Noriai* tale, there are themes in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* scene that are recognisable in other textual variants. In this version, too, Sukemori meets the Regent and, because his party do not give way, he and his companions are attacked. Kiyomori hears of this, retaliates and

organises a vicious attack on Motofusa when he is travelling to the Coming-of-Age ceremony of the Emperor Takakura. This action distresses Shigemori and results in an unusual object of mockery being left outside the gates of a Taira manor.

While the broad strokes of the story are similar, however, the details are often very different. The first incident takes place in the seventh month, not the tenth, making a gap of three and a half months between the two confrontations. Sukemori reports the incident to Shigemori at Rokuhara, and Kiyomori does not hear of it until seven of Sukemori's accompanying retinue are exiled in the aftermath. The warriors that Kiyomori sends are led by named retainers - Tsunetō and Kaneyasu - while Motofusa is defended by his attendant Takanori, and not the ox-driver Kunihisamaru. Most significantly to this study, Sukemori is now in a woman's carriage (*onnaguruma*) and not on horseback, and this scene is not described as the start of the Taira's evil deeds (*akugyō no hajime*).

Genpei Jōsuiki includes superfluous details of the event, such as information relating to the sacking of Kebiishi state officials. Kosukegawa identifies this as evidence that the text's editor(s) wanted to portray a more historical version, rather than simply creating a good story.[589] Certainly it is clear that the compilers of *Genpei Jōsuiki* had extensive access to and worked hard to incorporate many different texts across the whole body of the work, including apparently irrelevant detail, in a desire to portray incidents as specifically as possible.[590] This fastidious approach does blur the clarity evident in other versions, but generalising this as a 'historical' account is problematic. While the *Genpei Jōsuiki* account of the *Denka Noriai* incident more closely resembles contemporary diary records such as the *Gyokuyō*, it should be remembered that this text also includes fictional anecdotes, like the Konoshita incident discussed in Chapter Two. An editor with access to court diary information would likely have been aware of the lack of material relating to these popular stories but chose to include them anyway. This implies that the criteria for selection in the compilation of *Genpei Jōsuiki* was not restricted to the modern definition of 'factual' evidence, but operated on what the editor considered historical, including oral accounts, popular rumour, and apocryphal tales.

[589] Kosukegawa, "Genpei Jōsuiki No Hizuke Settei," 19.
[590] Kosukegawa, 19–20.

Moreover, while such details are included, the editorial manipulation of these events to suit an underlying narrative must not be underestimated.

Genpei Jōsuiki emphasises the importance of knowing one's proper place in the social hierarchy. This is evident in my analysis of previous chapters and is present in this story as well. Immediately following the initial clash, Shigemori, on hearing his son's report, scolds him, saying that,

> The fact that you went out and, when encountering someone of the rank of the Regent, failed to disembark your carriage is offensive behaviour. The chinaberry tree at the point where its petals have just begun to open is especially fragrant, but when its scent has travelled forty ri, it begins to fail and is thus surrounded and overcome by the pungent odour in a copse of castor oil trees.[591]

Shigemori's metaphor implies that Sukemori crossed outside of the bounds of his social position when he and his party did not disembark for the Regental procession. The idea of the putrefying scent of the chinaberry may also imply that the Taira themselves, by rising from warrior status into the noble ranks, have become tainted, entering spaces where they do not traditionally belong. Sukemori's encounter with the Regent becomes not so much about his bad manners, but rather forms a critique about disrupting the social hierarchy. It is this theme that Selinger cites in her argument, although she does not address the *Genpei Jōsuiki* model. Shigemori goes on to explain,

> People in society have their own position and worth in relation to each other, both high and low. There are also deep distinctions of court rank. Government is based on a premise lacking in evil intentions, and because of this, it is very important that people observe the rules of decorum.[592]

The fact that Shigemori singles out the business of government as being something that ought to lack evil will is particularly surprising considering that *Genpei Jōsuiki* is the only variant text not to term this event the start of the Taira's evil deeds. Despite the opportunity to connect this act to Taira evil, the compiler does not do so.

Rank and position (and, perhaps, the fluidity of it in an unstable and chaotic situation) is also portrayed in another way – through physical appearance. This is most strongly expressed in the depiction of Motofusa. On the day of the retaliatory attack, Motofusa makes elaborate preparations for his travel to the palace, knowing that all the

[591] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:74.
[592] 1:75.

other high-ranking individuals in the land will be there. For this purpose, his retinue are all dressed in fresh uniforms. By contrast, after the attack of Kiyomori's men, the text describes Motofusa in the following pitiful manner:

> Motofusa pressed his face into the sleeve of his robes and sobbed all the way back home to his manor. For a procession that had started out in such an elaborate style, they made a pitiful sight on their return, appearing like poor people of low rank, and this in particular was very sad. It was also no small thing that the Regent had been made to suffer such an indignity. There would surely be consequences.[593]

Genpei Jōsuiki compares Motofusa to someone of low birth, as though by being humiliated by the Taira's rough men, he has lost his dignity and his exalted position in the hierarchy. At the start of the procession, Motofusa is surrounded by mounted retainers, but their forcible dismount and flight from the scene leaves him no better than a commoner. Just as my analysis in the previous chapter showed how Takatsuna transformed his mean appearance from peasant to warrior through the acquisition of Kinosuke's horse, Motofusa loses his appearance and position when abandoned by his mounted retinue. The direct contrast between Motofusa's elaborate attempts to stand out and his pitiful state on his return home also underscores the importance of one's image and the fragility of status. Although the text is sympathetic to Motofusa's plight, like other variants, it has also taken all power and influence from him. Far from being able to attend the palace and face his noble peers, all of whom are awaiting him in ignorance, he is forced to skulk away home, with only a reduced number of men remaining at his side. The threat of consequences also adds an ominous note to the matter, implying that, although the confrontation has ended, the matter will go further. Again, though, *Genpei Jōsuiki* ignores the opportunity to decry this as the start of the Taira's bad deeds.

The issue of culpability in *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not as clear-cut as it appears in some of the other texts, and this is, in part, created by the removal of responsibility from Sukemori's shoulders. Although Shigemori is harsh on his son, the text overall is not. *Genpei Jōsuiki* states that neither the Regent nor Sukemori knew the identity of their opponent in the initial confrontation, and this lack of knowledge is what led to the encounter. Blame and criticism, where present, is heaped largely on Kiyomori. Sukemori is no longer on a horse, capable of making the active decisions shown in the earlier analysed versions of the tale. While the other accounts discussed Sukemori's

[593] 1:78.

arrogant and haughty character, *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes no such claims. Instead, it focuses only on his visible appearance in the moonlight, through the slats of the carriage. By removing the horse, and thus Sukemori's ability to decide independently whether or not to dismount, *Genpei Jōsuiki* also removes him as a character in the scene, reducing him to a peripheral plot device whose presence is necessary only to spark other events into play. No aspect of Sukemori's personality is presented to the reader at any point. Where the *Nagatobon* shows him crying to his grandfather and the *Engyōbon* depicts him trying to conceal the incident, in *Genpei Jōsuiki,* Sukemori simply reports to his father. He makes no response to Shigemori's admonitions, and soon becomes an irrelevance as events escalate leading up to the retaliation. As this thesis has already suggested, the scaling back of Sukemori's active involvement in this scene may reinforce the idea of *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a sixteenth century text. Oda Nobunaga's claim of descent from Sukemori's line would have created an impetus to rehabilitate his alleged ancestor's reputation, requiring *Genpei Jōsuiki* to find another culprit instead.

The ominous involvement of Kiyomori in events is emphasised by the text's subsequent claim of odd happenings, such as a painting tearing itself apart. *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that this is because the delaying of the Coming-of-Age ceremony – caused by Kiyomori's retaliation – was in defiance of the will of the gods and the Buddhas. This damning position can be juxtaposed with one other phrase from Shigemori's lecture – that the 'Pure Land Paradise bird, even when within its egg, sings so beautifully that its voice triumphs over all the other birds.'[594] The implication is that Kiyomori and his actions are contrary to the correct way of the Buddhas and gods, whereas Shigemori is righteous in his actions, like the Paradise bird. As Shigemori is not yet the Taira clan leader, the bird has not yet hatched, and yet Shigemori's wisdom supersedes Kiyomori's. Like the *Engyōbon* uses Michisada to blur the conventions relating to age and wisdom, in this text too it is the son who is advising the father. While Kiyomori is older, he lacks wisdom – a fact the text underscores at the time of his death by suggesting he died prematurely and thus was not old.[595] Shigemori's wisdom is demonstrated by his righteousness of opinion within the conventions of the social hierarchy. His lecture urges his son to follow his own example, and not be carried away

[594] 1:74.
[595] *Genpei Jōsuiki*,, 5:55.

by the excesses of his grandfather. The parallel contrasts Shigemori with Kiyomori, leaving Sukemori as little more than a convenient pawn to bring these factions into play.

With Sukemori removed from blame, and Kiyomori the focus of the criticism, some outstanding inconsistencies still remain. One of these is the fact that Sukemori reports to his father, and he does so at Rokuhara. *Genpei Jōsuiki* briefly tells us that,

> According to a valued source, the Novice Kiyomori was at this time in Fukuhara, carrying out religious rites for his successful rebirth following his death in this life, and this incident was the work of the Taira Dainagon Shigemori. This account is greatly different to what is normally recorded.[596]

This assertion is not often addressed in academic papers. Kosukegawa references it briefly, but does not discuss the potential source and states that it is such a passing comment it is unlikely to influence the reader's opinion to any great degree.[597] The annotation of this scene in the 1990s printed edition of *Genpei Jōsuiki* suggests that this 'valued source' is the *Gukanshō,* which names Shigemori explicitly.[598] This assumption is problematic, however, because Jien does not mention Kiyomori being at Fukuhara during this incident. A more likely source for this reference is the *Gyokuyō* diary. This indicates that a message was sent to Kiyomori in Fukuhara about the incident at the end of the tenth month, and that he responded regarding it in the early days of the eleventh. While this does not firmly prove Kiyomori's location at the time of the incident, Kanezane does indicate that the message was about the revenge attack, as he mentions Motofusa in conjunction with the message response on the third day of the eleventh month.[599] *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s heavy use of the *Gyokuyō* for its minute detail, as highlighted by Kosukegawa, also suggests this as a possibility. The reason for the inclusion of this detail, although brief, does indicate an attempt by the compiler to give as historic an account as possible. The brevity of the remark, however, and the qualifying statement that this is an unusual report suggests that the writer is including it in order to dismiss it, rather than ignoring it and leaving room open for doubt. This is further evidence of how the compiler of *Genpei Jōsuiki* manipulated historical events to suit the aims of his text, relaying them in detail but in such a way that they tell the Genpei story he wants to produce, rather than really being concerned with absolute

[596] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:78.
[597] Kosukegawa, "Genpei Jōsuiki No Hizuke Settei," 19.
[598] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:79n.
[599] *Kundoku Gyokuyō*, 1:154.

truth. Despite its attention to historic detail in many regards, *Genpei Jōsuiki* does not dwell on the possibility of Shigemori as the perpetrator. In fact, it is perhaps the most unforgiving text towards Kiyomori in its depiction of events, accusing him not just of insulting the Regental house, but also the will of the divine. Unlike the versions discussed in the previous section, the blame is shifted firmly from Sukemori towards the more powerful figure of Kiyomori and presented in a more sinister light.

Loyalty to one Lord: The Regent's Retinue

The close adherence of the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text to the *Gyokuyō* account of the *Denka Noriai* incident may explain why Sukemori is depicted in a carriage, rather than on horseback. The fact that this action stands in contrast to the text's general emphasis on equine involvement, however, suggests something deeper is going on in this tale. Although the blame is taken from Sukemori, horses still form an important and catalytic role in the events of the *Denka Noriai* in this variant as well. And, as I have previously mentioned, the absence of Sukemori's horse also coincides with the absence of the accusation regarding evil deeds.

As I highlighted in the previous sub-section, Kiyomori is constructed as the ultimate villain in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. Although this is not inconsistent with other variants, Kiyomori's actions in this text are wicked enough to upset the deities by disrupting the Coming-of-Age ceremony. Kiyomori's behaviour also appears more vindictive in this version, on account of the long gap between the initial incident and the revenge. While this, too, correlates to the historical event, the text emphasises Kiyomori's negative attitude:

> In spite of [Shigemori's advice], the Lord Novice Kiyomori remained ominously angry. The rudeness and short-temperedness of country samurai (inakazamurai) was frightening enough, but Kiyomori believed that, irrespective of high or low rank, there were none outside of the family who ought to be more feared than he was, and so he found this incident unthinkable from start to finish. [600]

By blaming Kiyomori, the incident becomes much bigger than simply a skirmish in the streets of the capital. Kiyomori is again linked with the *inakazamurai,* but this time the implication is that he is one himself. This again places him on the periphery, suggesting a level of wildness and violence in his mode of attack. Outside the legitimate framework

[600] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:76.

of proper protocol, he lacks respect for the hierarchy, and considers himself superior to all others.

As I showed in Chapter Two, horses can be connectives between men and war. In this instance, although Sukemori is no longer on horseback, the text forges this connection between Kiyomori and the incident instead. When Sukemori first returns and reports the matter to his father, Kiyomori is not present. *Genpei Jōsuiki* tells us that he is first notified about it when seven Taira horsemen are to be exiled:

> Because seven horse riders were banished as a result of this incident, Kiyomori sent for his grandson and demanded to know all the details. Sukemori told him exactly what had occurred. Kiyomori could not keep his temper in check.[601]

This exile is a direct response to the *Denka Noriai* dispute, but their mention appears suddenly. Although the text references Motofusa sending officers to the Kebiishi, the effective police force of the court, and over whom Shigemori had some authority, these men were not exiled. Instead, three were detained, leading to the demotion of four Kebiishi officials in reprisal. These are clearly not the seven men the text describes. Their lack of direct connection to the Taira would not explain Kiyomori's angry reaction, indicating that the seven exiled riders must belong to the Heike. Although Shigemori scolds the retainers who had accompanied his son, there is no direct suggestion of any further consequences being meted out to them for their actions. The sudden mention of exiled horsemen thus appears more as an equine trigger for Kiyomori's rage, rather than an actual part of the punishment process. It is not the event itself that angers Kiyomori, as he is somehow unaware of it until this exile takes place. The reduction of Sukemori's retinue by seven mounted individuals also represents a loss of power on the part of his grandson. As has already been mentioned, Sukemori's rank promotions did slow following the *Denka Noriai* incident. The apparently random inclusion of seven horsemen in this scene acts as a catalyst and a connective, linking Kiyomori to the incident, and thus forming the basis of his revenge, while also foreshadowing Sukemori's gradual fall.

Kiyomori goes on to appoint individuals Tsunetō and Kaneyasu to orchestrate the attack. The choice of these individuals is significant as well, as they are also the warriors who will accompany Motofusa's kinsman Narichika into exile following the

[601] 1:75.

later Shishigatani incident.[602] *Genpei Jōsuiki* is the only text which names these two warriors in Motofusa's humiliation. By utilising them both in this incident and the later disgrace of Narichika, they help to reinforce the idea of Taira authority being imposed at the expense of the Fujiwara. Kaneyasu and Tsunetō are both enthusiastic about participating in the attack on the Regent, an attitude that also reflects Kiyomori's dangerous and potentially destructive ideas of his own position and power. Kiyomori appears blind to the risks associated with challenging the Regental house. Shigemori warns him that,

> This is not a time to become overly proud about our position, nor talk about rinsing away the shame of this incident. That act will lead to the decline of the Taira's family fortunes. On the contrary, it is said that 'those who win in a contest of virtue with another will flourish, and those who win in a contest with those who hold power will be destroyed.'[603]

Shigemori's warning is based on Confucian ideology, and it also espouses the underlying motivation behind this scene. Unlike the other texts, which term this the start of the Taira's bad deeds, *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses it to convey a different emphasis. Rather than utilising Sukemori to symbolise the petty arrogance of an upstart military family, *Genpei Jōsuiki* frames the event as the start of the Taira's declining influence at court. In order to do this, it connects the incident not to a lesser figure like Sukemori, but to the core of Taira power, Kiyomori himself. By disassociating Sukemori from blame, the text also removes responsibility from Shigemori's descendants, making it once more about Kiyomori's own overriding arrogance. Shigemori warns against the dangers of winning a contest against those who hold power. In doing so, he foreshadows not just Kiyomori's revenge on Motofusa, but other, subsequent evils, which will follow across the next ten years. The exile of ministers and confinement of the Retired Emperor following the 1177 Shishigatani plot, the 1180 *coup d'état* and the subsequent move of the capital are all much more serious incidents in which Kiyomori pits himself and his authority against the established power framework of court and Emperor, ultimately leading to the Genpei War. The seven exiled horsemen appear in the text to demonstrate Kiyomori's irredeemable connection with conflict, and the inevitable Taira decline that must follow. This view is reinforced by Shigemori's reaction when he hears the news of the revenge attack. Crying, he states that, as a result of this act, the Taira fortunes are

[602] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 2:12.
[603] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:76.

already exhausted.[604] This is not the beginning of evil acts, but the end of their prospects as a legitimate part of court society. By breaking the bounds of their warrior status and choosing to assault those of higher birth, the Taira have made themselves a peripheral entity. This helps to lay the groundwork to legitimise those who choose to oppose them, including, ultimately, the Minamoto led by Yoritomo.

While *Genpei Jōsuiki* attempts to undermine the severity of the initial confrontation (both in terms of Sukemori's behaviour and the actions of Motofusa's retinue), it emphasises the significance of Kiyomori's revenge attack. In this scene, too, the Dismount Principle is utilised to great effect. In the other variant texts, discussed earlier, Motofusa's men all flee, leaving him to be rescued by the lowly ox-driver, Kunihisamaru. *Genpei Jōsuiki* instead uses this scene as a platform to reinforce its values of absolute loyalty to one's lord, even in the face of personal disadvantage. This is achieved through the depiction of one of Motofusa's attendants, Takanori. In this scene, Takanori is depicted in a proactive way, much like Michisada in the *Engyōbon,* and the text states that he is a man of superior strength. Where other retainers are being scattered, the text tells us that only Takanori stayed close to defend the Regent's carriage, which has come under direct assault.[605] He encircles it, parrying away attempts by the enemy to stab through the windows. One of those directly assaulting the Regent's carriage is Tsunetō. Although clearly reluctant to engage in violence, Takanori acts, riding his horse towards Tsunetō to challenge him. During the struggle, he manages to pull his rival from his horse, grappling him to the ground. In doing so, Takanori exposes himself to danger. Although Tsunetō is unable to fight back, he is surrounded by men of his own retinue, who immediately come to his aid. While this is not a battlefield confrontation to the death, Takanori is ultimately overpowered and his topknot is cut. Despite this humiliation, Takanori's first impulse is to go to the Regent's carriage, asking if Motofusa is all right. While Motofusa sits and sobs at the indignity of his own situation, Takanori, whose appearance is far more shameful, exposes himself to potential ridicule by putting Motofusa's needs ahead of his own. This positive expression of loyalty is not dissimilar to that exhibited by Kiō's return to Yorimasa in Chapter Two, or Shigemitsu's sacrificial death in Chapter One. This suggests that the wider themes of loyalty to one lord are also relevant in this story, once more

[604] 1:78.
[605] 1:77.

demonstrating this as a key element of the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s narrative, and again presented through the use of horses. Although dismounted and disgraced, Takanori's ultimate loyalty is to his lord.

The dedication of Regental retainers to the court and the hierarchy are also demonstrated later when, following the incident, another of Motofusa's retinue seeks an audience with the Retired Emperor. Painstakingly piecing back together his topknot so as not to present a shameful appearance before such an exalted lord, he bemoans his lack of skill in the confrontation, blaming himself for the failure to protect his hair from being cut. He decides to take religious vows and leave the world as a result of this incident. This retainer is not depicted running from the scene, and thus is not presented as a coward. His rationale for taking vows is not on account of his own embarrassment, but because he fears casting shame on his superiors through his disgrace. Consequently, the text praises his action as being wise, and does not criticise him.[606]

These acts of loyalty and selfless dedication are placed in contrast to another of Motofusa's retinue, Morisuke. Unlike Takanori, Morisuke has no intention of fighting or defending the Regent's position. Instead, he urges his horse into a gallop, intending on fleeing the scene completely. This act of cowardice is immediately followed by his being struck down from the saddle and taken captive. His ultimate fate is unknown, and the text does not attempt to qualify his failure. The contrast between the positive momentum ascribed to Takanori in defending his lord and the negative momentum of Morisuke in attempting to flee the scene is conveyed through their use of horses.

As previously discussed, the nuances surrounding this scene in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* centre more on the excessive behaviour and tyranny of Kiyomori than the arrogance of Sukemori. This helps to transform the incident into a much more sinister scene with potential consequences for the Taira family in the future. The text includes two statements that support this interpretation. The story begins by observing that 'something occurred that would tilt [Taira] fortunes', and concludes by saying, 'the Taira family…were viewed even more with hatred and derision following this matter.'[607] In spite of the close association between Taira misconduct and acts of evil, however, the text does not frame this incident as the beginning of Taira abuses of

[606] 1:79.
[607] 1:80.

power. To evaluate the reasons why, we need to go to a point earlier in the text, and examine the role of Kiyomori's forgotten second son, Motomori, who is the focus of the next section of this chapter.

Section II: The Second Scapegoat: The Doomed Motomori

There exist just enough contemporary records from the twelfth century to indicate that Kiyomori's second son, Motomori, was a real person. Diaries such as the *Hyōhanki* and *Sankaiki* record his various rank promotions from the age of seventeen, allowing historians to approximate a date of birth of around 1138-9.[608] A yet more tangible and personal proof of his short life survives in a record from the Tokyo University's archive collection of insignia (*kaō* 花押), dated 1161. This signature records him holding the dual ranks of Governor of Echizen Province and *Saemon no Suke*.[609] The entry also records his death, in Ōhō 2 (1162) at the age of 24. Finding proof of this date of death or even the manner of it is fraught with trouble. Diary entries for Ōhō 2 are rare and incomplete, and none that exist seem to record Motomori's ultimate fate. The most popular story is that he drowned in the River Uji, perhaps by accident, or perhaps through the curse of a vengeful spirit. Motomori's early death meant that, by the time the Taira family embarked on their meteoric rise to power and authority, he was already what Kusaka terms a 'figure of the past', increasingly irrelevant as people commented on and criticised the Taira acquisition of rank.[610] In spite of this gradual erasure from history, Motomori plays a key part in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text, making him integral to this analysis. By making an incident involving Motomori the start of Taira misdeeds, the compilers of *Genpei Jōsuiki* effectively shift the blame from Sukemori to his dead uncle. *Genpei Jōsuiki* asserts that the Taira misconduct began the moment the Minamoto fell from influence, laying the groundwork for the triumphant return of Yoritomo as righteous Shogun. Understanding who Motomori was, why he was so widely omitted and his role in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* story is thus integral to my analysis.

Kusaka concludes that Motomori's removal was part of augmenting the perceived rivalry for the clan leadership between Munemori and Shigemori. As mentioned earlier, the comparative theme of superior elder and inferior younger brother features across *Heike* corpus versions, and as the debate over Shigemori and Munemori's right to inherit became more prominent, Motomori's existence became more of a nuisance than a benefit to the narrative. While Kusaka chooses to segregate

[608] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 62.
[609] University of Tokyo Digital Archive: Kaō collection, record # 3071.62-113 (accessed 13.7.17) http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e
[610] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 63.

his investigation of 'literary' (War Tale) texts and 'historic' (diary and chronicle) records, his conclusions indicate that the division between 'literature' and 'history' is really very indistinct. In fact, the disappearance of Motomori appears to have occurred in both genres at around the same time. Early thirteenth century sources, such as the *Gukanshō* of 1219, still include Motomori, but those of the late thirteenth century – a period in which there survives early historic evidence for the *biwa hōshi* priests transmitting embryonic versions of the *Heike*, *Hōgen* and *Heiji Monogatari* texts through performance – shows a decline in his involvement.[611] One might hypothesise that, as time passed from the thirteenth into the fourteenth century, real accounts of the Genpei period would have become more and more influenced by fictional retellings and oral transmissions, turning these historical figures into malleable story characters rather than flesh and blood heroes and villains. In this environment, War Tales would have thrived, and their influence probably helped to direct the course of later historical writings as well. By the Nanbokuchō period of the mid to late fourteenth century, the period in which the *Kakuichibon Heike* developed, Motomori was no longer being written about in other kinds of textual record. As Kusaka observes, the *Hōryakukanki* (circa 1340s-70s) and the *Shinmeikyō* (late fourteenth century) reference Munemori as Kiyomori's second son and omit mention of Motomori completely.[612] Another reason why Motomori faded from popular awareness in the latter part of the thirteenth century might lie in the issue of his descendants. While his son Yukimori, lauded in the *Heike* corpus as a gifted poet, died at Dannoura in 1185, Motomori's daughter survived the conflict and married, producing at least one son, Nagasue, who rose to the Third Rank at court in 1216, only three years before the writing of *Gukanshō*. Nagasue apparently fell from favour in the 1220s, receiving Imperial censure in 1227. It is unclear whether Nagasue had any further offspring, or whether his entire family line was tainted by this association – but it seems likely that any direct family interest in preserving Motomori's name would have disappeared with Nagasue's authority.[613]

Motomori's present-day presence in scholarship remains negligible, perhaps because of the weighty influence of the *Heike* corpus. This is particularly true in English

[611] Kusaka, 58.
[612] Kusaka, 60.
[613] *Kuge Honin*, Tokyo University Digital Archive, https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/image/data/850/8500/02/0518/0195.tif accessed 21.7.2017

language scholarship.[614] Selinger, in her analysis of the *Denka Noriai* scene, appears to confuse the roles of Sukemori and Motomori, calling Sukemori Kiyomori's second son instead.[615] In Japanese, Kusaka's article remains the most convincing study on Motomori, although it was written more than three decades ago. Motomori's presence in modern-day Japan is also minimal, but his existence is at least acknowledged. Where Taira family trees appear at Japanese exhibitions and museums, Motomori's name is always included, even if the exhibit itself is entirely based on the *Heike* corpus, as at Takamatsu.

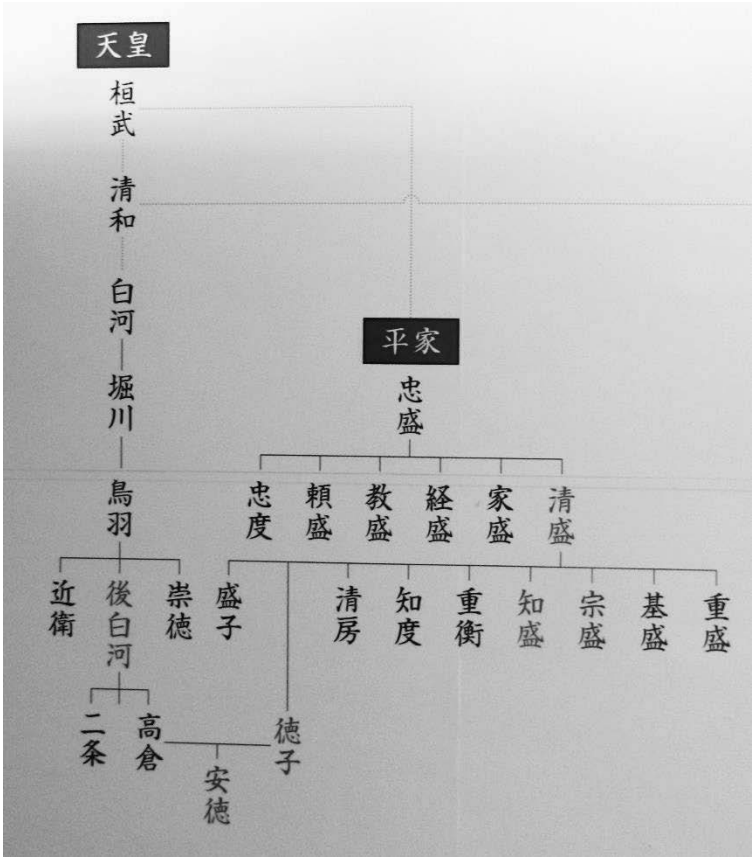

fig 33: Family tree of Taira including Motomori (Heike Monogatari Rekishikan, Takamatsu)

While Motomori's existence was ignored in the *Yoshitsune* drama, he played a small but significant role in *Taira no Kiyomori*, suggesting a greater awareness of his existence today than was perhaps in evidence when Kusaka wrote his article. Motomori's character in the *Taira no Kiyomori* drama is, admittedly, a fictional construct designed as a foil to Shigemori's seriousness. He is presented as an impulsive and gregarious individual who would rather spend time with his brothers than become

[614] Thornton, "Kōnodai Senki"; Varley, *Warriors of Japan as Portrayed in the War Tales*.
[615] Selinger, *Authorizing the Shogunate*, 150n.

involved in the intricacies of court life. Motomori's death becomes perhaps his most important moment in the drama. Kiyomori learns that Motomori died because of the Retired Emperor's curse, and so puts in motion plans to placate the souls of all those killed in conflict against them.[616] Far from being the start of the Taira's evil deeds, Motomori's death and the subsequent placation of enemies through the writing and delivery of the *Heike Nokyō* sutra scrolls ultimately herald the start of the Taira's flourishing fortunes. While the *Heike* corpus omission gives the impression that Motomori's death does not fit the narrative of impending Taira success, the drama utilises the tragedy as a benchmark in Kiyomori's growing career. Motomori ultimately emerges from this modern representation not only as an acknowledged part of the Taira family, but also one with a significant role and purpose despite his short life. While this is a largely positive depiction, however, some residual confusion remains. Where the *Gukanshō* records Motomori (and Munemori) accompanying Kiyomori back from Kumano to put down the Heiji Uprising[617], the NHK drama prefers to follow the tradition of the War Tales, sending Shigemori instead and leaving Motomori at Rokuhara to await their return. The drama also chooses to follow the popular story of a curse, although preferring to blame this on a living antagonist rather than a dead man's spirit. This uncertainty between 'fact' and 'fiction' is also echoed in Edo period source material, which suggest that Motomori might have been adopted, or may have in fact been Kiyomori's sixth son (neither of which can be borne out either in Taira family tree records or contemporary documents).[618] Returning Motomori to his rightful position as Kiyomori's second-born son is challenging alongside the continued influence of the *Heike* corpus and its popular retelling of the Genpei story.

Motomori's 'Disruptive Deeds'

In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Motomori is cursed to death by the angry ghost of the Uji Minister, Yorinaga, who had died in 1156 following the Hōgen Uprising. On account of this anecdote, Kusaka has described Motomori's *Genpei Jōsuiki* depiction as that of a sacrifice to a vengeful spirit, but I argue that Motomori's purpose in *Genpei Jōsuiki* is more complicated than just to act as a sacrificial lamb. Whereas all other versions of the *Heike* corpus blame Sukemori and his retinue for the start of Taira misdeeds, *Genpei*

[616] NHK Taiga Drama '*Taira no Kiyomori*' Episode 30 '*Heike Nokyō'*.
[617] Jien, *The Future and the Past*, 110.
[618] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 60; *Hyōhanki (1)*, 15:310.

Jōsuiki places responsibility for this act on Motomori's shoulders. In Book Two, two whole sections before the *Denka Noriai* incident occurs, *Genpei Jōsuiki* makes the following statement:

> On the 22nd day of the 5th month previous, when the Regent Motozane was about to go out, Lord Kiyomori's second son, the Governor of Tōtōmi, Motomori, parked his ox-carriage across the gate of his manor. Although the Regent's attendants protested and demanded that the carriage be moved aside, the youths driving the oxen did not listen, and instead shouted insults at the Regent's men. The attendants took their bows in hand to fire at the carriage, at which point Motomori's band of warriors drew their swords and surrounded the attendants, mercilessly striking them down. The whole area became engulfed in the commotion, and it was said that this incident marked the beginning of the Heike's violent conduct (*kore zo Heike no rangyō no hajime to wa kikoeshi*).[619]

This extract appears in a section of the text immediately following one of Kiyomori's court promotions, and its inclusion in this position may even be designed to demonstrate Taira arrogance following Kiyomori's rise in rank. This position in the chronology tentatively suggests that it is meant to occur around the time of the Heiji uprising (1159-60). Kusaka's research shows that Motomori received the governorship of Tōtōmi in Eiryaku 1 (1160-61), followed by his promotion to the governorship of Echizen at the end of that year. The *kaō* record corroborates this, as it shows him holding two positions in Eiryaku 2 (1161-2). The fact that he was holding two ranks in 1161-2 does not rule out the possibility of him doing so prior to this. *Genpei Jōsuiki* implies that he received the rank *Saemon no Jō* (rather than *Suke*) after the Heiji Uprising, in place of the Tōtōmi governorship. Evidence that Motomori held the rank *Saemon no Jō* can be found in the twelfth century *Hyōhanki* court diary, written by Taira Nobunori, although at a point earlier than that suggested in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. The diary records his appointment in 1155, and indicates that he still held this rank at the time of the Hōgen Uprising the following year.[620] Based on Kusaka's dating of the Tōtōmi promotion, the most likely period for the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s Motomori incident is between the 5th month of the first year of Eiryaku and the twelfth month, in which he received the rank of Echizen Governor in place of the Tōtōmi one.[621] Inui Yoshihira has also evaluated the dating of

[619] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:49.
[620] *Hyōhanki (1)*, 15:310; *Hyōhanki (2)*, 16:114–15.
[621] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 62; *Sankaiki (1)*, 19:168.

this scene and he too posits an 1160 date, based on the time-frame established in surrounding segments.[622]

What makes the extract problematic is the lack of surviving evidence to corroborate whether it ever took place. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s evidence was compiled from a wide array of source material, sometimes offering contradictory accounts of the same story in order to be thorough in its record. It is possible that such a record did exist and has been lost over time. Inui comments that one printed edition of *Genpei Jōsuiki* cites a *kanbun* record for the event, but no origin source is indicated, making it impossible to know whether this was based on a factual event or was a fictional construct.[623]

The account is conveniently similar to the *Denka Noriai* incident; what Inui calls a 'small scale *Denka Noriai'*.[624] Here we have Motomori, not Sukemori, embroiled in a conflict with the attendants of the Regent over the parking of an ox-carriage, which he refuses to move. This escalates into violence, leading the writer to conclude that here is the start of the Taira's 'disruptive deeds' (*rangyō*). While its historical provenance cannot be authenticated, there are some elements that cast doubt on the integrity of this tale. Firstly, as Inui also points out, there is no firm detail provided about the circumstances of this event. Things like the place, the time and those involved are vague.[625] This acts in direct contrast to the later *Denka Noriai* scene which, as has already been discussed, contains superfluous amounts of detail. Secondly, in the years following this alleged incident, Motozane would marry Motomori's half-sister Moriko, becoming a key support figure for the Taira until his death in 1166. As with the allegations that Kiyomori planned to disrupt the Emperor's Coming-of-Age ceremony despite his personal interests, it seems unlikely that Motozane or his family would have wanted this connection if they had suffered such an insult. Thirdly is the matter of the ox-carriage itself. According to the text, at this time Motomori was the Governor of Tōtōmi Province. In other scenes, Provincial Governors of similar rank are depicted on horseback accompanying ox-carriages, rather than riding in them – such as Michisada in the *Engyōbon* account. While true that Sukemori (as Governor of Echizen) is portrayed in a carriage in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, it is a woman's carriage, not that of a court official, as Sukemori is still a young child. Motomori, by comparison, is in command of his own

[622] Inui, "Heike Monogatari Daiichi," 126.
[623] Inui, 126.
[624] Inui, 126.
[625] Inui, 126.

carriage. Moreover, the *Denka Noriai* incident happened in 1170, when the Taira were already influential at court. If Motomori's encounter took place in 1160, the Taira had yet to begin this meteoric political rise. In this climate, it would be more likely that Motomori would have been on horseback. This gives the scene an anachronistic feel, more in context with later depictions of the Taira family.

While *rangyō* and *akugyō* are clearly different terms, the rest of the phrasing resembles very closely that of the earlier cited texts. The use of *rangyō* here also seems to fit the *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s themes more appropriately. As we have seen in the Konoshita chapter, this text is critical of individuals creating social disturbance and military chaos for personal or trivial reasons. Even Sasaki Takatsuna, whose horse thievery is discussed in Chapter Three, validates his actions as being in the national interest - he needs the horse to join Yoritomo's army and help put the world to rights. Motomori's appearance in this scene as the start not of *akugyō* (evil deeds), but of *rangyō* (disruptive deeds) thus puts him at direct odds with the message of the text. Moreover, while the initial *Denka Noriai* scene is presented as an accidental confrontation, here Motomori's action of parking his ox-carriage outside the manor gates when the Regent is about to leave suggests deliberate provocation. Here Motomori is actively preventing the Regent from going about his business. Rather than telling the story of a real incident, I hypothesise that the scene, which follows shortly after a segment on the marriages of Kiyomori's daughters, is a metaphor for the impending alliance of Motozane to one such daughter, implying future obstruction of Regental duties by the Taira's usurpation of government control.[626]

The *akugyō* of individuals such as Yorimasa and Nakatsuna I discussed in Chapter Two implies the favouring of personal ambition over national peace, but in Motomori's case, there is no personal ambition involved. Rather, the text presents us with personal arrogance, and perhaps even a level of spite. Motomori and his companions are shown as simply behaving in a thuggish and disruptive manner, actively bringing the world into chaos through their misdeeds. The *Genpei Jōsuiki'*s references to a disrupted world imply a heavier weight for this term in the text's overall narrative. Inui's interpretation of this scene is that it marks the start of Taira abuses, whereas the *Denka Noriai* scene indicates the changing of Taira luck instead. As mentioned above,

[626] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1991, 1:39–47.

Genpei Jōsuiki does describe the *Denka Noriai* event as the 'tilting' of Taira fortunes. Inui's thesis implies that the use of *rangyō* connects Taira disruption with the disruption of society, but he does not address the nuanced differences between *akugyō* and *rangyō*. For Inui, the Motomori scene demonstrates negative activities by the Taira in the 1160s, but that it is with the *Denka Noriai* scene that resistance to the Taira rise begins to become apparent. Inui's explanation for the choice of timescale is that 1160 was a time in which both Motomori and Motozane were alive and when Motozane was Regent, suggesting an element of historical authenticity for those reading the text.[627]

Redemption of the Sinner: The Drowning of Motomori

Motomori's sudden role in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as the bringer of chaos is in direct contrast to his depiction in the *Hōgen Monogatari* text.[628] Here he is shown as an Imperial defender, challenging Uno no Shichirō Chikaharu to state his loyalties. Motomori is praised here for his intelligence, despite his youth, and the text describes his use of strategy and geographical position. From his vantage point, Motomori can see that the enemy is inferior in numbers, and so orders an attack, taking them prisoner. This anecdote is concluded with a remark about the invincible power of the Emperor. In the *Hōgen Monogatari*, Motomori is presented as symbolic of imperial power and loyalty, whereas in *Genpei Jōsuiki* he is shown disrespecting the Regental House and by association, the Imperial court. Motomori's active involvement in capturing Chikaharu and his family are corroborated by the contemporary account of the *Hyōhanki* court diary, suggesting that the *Hōgen Monogatari* presents a more authentic depiction of Motomori's behaviour than *Genpei Jōsuiki*.[629]

In the *Hōgen Monogatari*, when defending the Emperor, Motomori is on horseback. He is also legitimised by the fact his military action is in the name of the true (at least, victorious) Imperial cause. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Motomori has no such legitimacy, and at no point in the text is he explicitly presented on horseback. Even when describing his death, the text merely says he descended into the water and drowned. *Genpei Jōsuiki* describes this fall with the verb 下る. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, this verb is frequently glossed in the War Tales as either *kudaru* (in relation to leaving the capital) or *oriru* (in relation to dismounting a horse). By descending into

[627] Inui, "Heike Monogatari Daiichi," 125.
[628] Tyler, *Before Heike and After*, 21–22.
[629] *Hyōhanki (2)*, 16:115.

the water through this method, Motomori's death appears both as his severance from central power and his loss of influence as depicted by an implied dismount. The association between this dismount and his death also alludes to the river crossings I mentioned in Chapter Three, which require strong horses to complete successfully. Motomori's death in the same river is unlikely to be a coincidence. Like those too weak to cross the flowing water, Motomori is swept away on the current and killed. By removing the horses from Motomori's actions, his position in the tale remains peripheral and powerless, even as his kinsfolk grasp hold of central authority by force. This makes him the perfect foil through which to express the inevitability of the Taira downfall. Just as Motomori falls into the river and drowns, so the Taira also drown themselves in defeat at Dannoura. Motomori's death is described during the drowning of his son, Yukimori, and nephew, Arimori, directly linking the two acts.[630] While in most versions of the *Heike*, Sukemori also drowns in this scene, by moving his death to a different point in the text, *Genpei Jōsuiki* once more marginalises his role in proceedings, allowing the text instead to focus on the role of Motomori in the Taira's demise.

Motomori's role in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as the scapegoat, rather than the sacrifice, is also demonstrated by the text's use of the Lotus Sutra. It references Devadatta, a kinsman of the Buddha Sakyamuni who was consumed with envy over his cousin's success. He defied Sakyamuni, attempted to establish his own religious movement and then plotted to have the Buddha killed.[631] His plot failed, but instead of condemning him, Sakyamuni forgave him, saying that Devadatta's deeds in his previous life had allowed him to teach Sakyamuni great truths, enabling his current success and enlightenment. The Devadatta chapter promotes the idea that good and evil are essentially the same thing, and states that any who believe its contents will be protected from descent into the lower of the Six Realms, such as the Realm of Beasts. Its inclusion in *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not surprising, as this was a text closely studied by the warrior class, whose deeds were sometimes questionable and whose passion for conflict and violence were often represented in context with the realm of Asura Demons.[632] Its inclusion regarding Motomori's redemption, however, is more specific. Motomori's spirit asks his wife to pray for him in order to help him find enlightenment. The

[630] *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 6:36.
[631] Shinjo, *Introduction to the Lotus Sutra*.
[632] Kimbrough, "Battling 'Tengu', Battling Conceit," 296.

comparison with Devadatta implies that Motomori has assumed all of the Taira sins of Hōgen and Heiji onto his shoulders, and as such, is doomed without the intervention of prayer. If we consider that *Genpei Jōsuiki* is actively linking these uprisings with the Genpei conflict of 1180-85, then his sins are also those of the Taira over their entire period of political supremacy. The inclusion of this anecdote within the greater description of the Dannoura defeat, in which Motomori's son Yukimori is about to drown himself – a similar death to that of his father – also offers another interpretation. Shinjo Suguro explains that:

> [The Devadatta] story seems to tell us that the good and evil in people is not fixed and absolute, but is developed by human relationships and the times in which people live…Buddhism believes that good and evil are not two separate things; there is no absolute distinction between the two. An evil deed cannot be considered an absolute. The Devadatta Chapter is known as the teaching that explains the attainment of enlightenment by evil people.[633]

Motomori's comparison to Devadatta, a sinner whose crimes are unforgivable and yet who is forgiven because of his good deeds in a previous life suggests a similar fate may await the Taira who are about to die. Although they have committed sins against the Gods and Buddhas in this life, their souls are not necessarily lost forever. In choosing death at Dannoura, they are also potentially entering future salvation, if enough people offer prayers on their behalf. While *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not a placatory or recitative text, the religious impact of insertions such as these both consolidate the Taira as exceptional sinners who have committed great evil, and the fact that evil can be forgiven now that they have let go of their worldly connections and embraced death. Motomori's unnatural death at the hands of vengeful spirits also holds parallels with the way the text frames Kiyomori's death. While all versions of the *Heike Monogatari* depict Kiyomori's fatal fever as a punishment from the gods, only *Genpei Jōsuiki* focuses on the fact that his death is premature, as he could have lived to seventy or eighty.[634] Motomori's death, at the age of twenty-four, also fits this paradigm, drawing a subtle link between the demise of these two criticised Taira individuals. By placing the emphasis on Motomori as a cursed soul, *Genpei Jōsuiki* also lifts blame from Sukemori. Although there is no explanation as to why, at the time of his death in the text, Sukemori's name is accompanied by the suffix *nyūdō*, indicating that he has taken

[633] Shinjo, *Introduction to the Lotus Sutra*, 103.
[634] *Genpei Jōsuiki*,, 5:55.

religious vows and left the material world.[635] Rather than being the scapegoat who began the Taira's evil deeds, Sukemori begins and ends as a victim of conflict he cannot control, ultimately seeking solace in religion and implying the possibility of a successful future rebirth. This shift in *Genpei Jōsuiki* towards attaining enlightenment at the end of his life, rather than fighting to the death at Dannoura, may also reflect the desire of Oda Nobunaga to present his ancestor in a more positive overall light.

An Ongoing War: The Legacy of Hōgen and Heiji

Genpei Jōsuiki's description of Motomori as the cursed victim of Yorinaga's vengeful spirit suggests he is more than just a sacrifice, but actually a scapegoat for the Taira's bad deeds. By showing him cursed to death by Yorinaga, a minister associated with both the Hōgen Uprising and the geographical location of Uji, where Motomori allegedly drowned, Motomori is accepting responsibility for all the Taira's bad deeds, not just his own. Motomori does not interact with Yorinaga at any point in any War Tale text, nor is there any direct link between them, or any reason to think that Motomori is responsible for Yorinaga's fall. Nonetheless, it is Motomori that has been singled out for Yorinaga's post-death rampage in *Genpei Jōsuiki*. The text implies that the tendrils of this curse are still in existence long after Motomori has died, maybe even contributing to the Taira's overall defeat. Contemporaries did fear Yorinaga's restless spirit, awarding him rank posthumously to placate him. He was also a member of the Fujiwara family – the uncle of Motozane and Motofusa. The Seiwa Genji traditionally served the Fujiwara family as their military retinue, and so Yorinaga's anger could be interpreted as the anger of the defeated and dead Minamoto from Hōgen and Heiji.

In most versions of the *Heike*, Sukemori's incident in 1170 is the starting point for the Taira's misdemeanours, but in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the use of Motomori pushes the event back to the early 1160s. Aside from extending the perceived period of Taira abuses, as Inui touches on, this has another, deeper implication. Following the Heiji Uprising, the Minamoto were all but destroyed, with any surviving members fleeing or exiled, such as Yoritomo. Those who had been Minamoto retainers turned their loyalty to the Taira, realising that the Minamoto were essentially a spent force. By pulling the start of the Taira bad deeds back to the time of this Genji eradication, *Genpei Jōsuiki* implies that, without the Minamoto, there is nobody to keep Kiyomori and his family in

[635] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 7:42.

line. The *Jōsuiki*'s frequent assertions that the Genji and Heike are traditionally equals, as seen in Nakatsuna's plea to his father over Konoshita, is just one example of this expressed sense of parity. By removing the Minamoto from court, balance is disrupted and the Taira are able to act in a way that ultimately brings the world into chaos, thus meriting the term *rangyō*. This, coupled with the severe description of Kiyomori offending gods and Buddhas in his revenge attack on Motofusa indicates a much more damning critique of Taira policy than in any of the other texts. The *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s shuffling of ranks and dates may be incidental, but it may also indicate an attempt by the text to suggest that this disruptive encounter occurred before the Heiji Uprising, rather than after it. In that case, it would provide implicit justification for Yoshitomo's rebellion against the court, suggesting that he was, in fact, a loyal individual looking to free the Emperor from Taira influence, rather than seeking his own personal advancement. This is in keeping with the positive and nostalgic way in which Yoshitomo is remembered by Yoritomo.[636]

There is also an implication that these events are part of one continuous conflict. If Hōgen and Heiji are considered simply the early battles of an ongoing twelfth century power struggle between the Taira and the Minamoto, then it allows *Genpei Jōsuiki* to assert Minamoto dominance by attributing the final outcome of this struggle to be at Dannoura. In short, while the Genji lost some battles, they ultimately won the war.

Kusaka states that Munemori, rather than Motomori, was the chosen second son, because his superior family ties to the Imperial family made him well positioned in a battle for Taira supremacy with his superior older brother.[637] Ironically, by becoming a substitute second son, Munemori is also ultimately seen as inferior and criticised for his actions. In *Genpei Jōsuiki* this judgement is often particularly harsh, as he is vilified as an avaricious idiot, a bully of Emperors, the illegitimate son of a monk and an incestuous philanderer, guilty of polluting the Imperial bloodline by siring Antoku with his sister. At the same time, although Motomori appears in this text, Munemori is often also referred to as the second son in scenes in which Motomori does not play a role, again underscoring the position of second son as an unenviable one. The text's damning

[636] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:26.
[637] Kusaka, "'Heike Monogatari' No Ichimondai," 66.

depiction of Kiyomori's other 'second son' makes him the third and final scapegoat framing accounts of the 'Taira bad deeds'.

Conclusion

The *Denka Noriai* scene is a pivotal point in the representation of the Genpei War found in different versions of the *Heike Monogatari* text. These presentations and interpretations continue to influence both modern popular culture, through exhibits and television drama, and the academic arguments of historians. While much scholarly discourse focuses on the guilt of Shigemori or Kiyomori, this chapter has sought to analyse the sub-textual themes found in different versions of the *Heike* corpus text, initially examining how Sukemori's role is presented, and then moving on to examine the insertion of Motomori in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. While Motomori and Sukemori both remain peripheral figures in studies of the Genpei War, their involvement in these key allegations as trigger-points for the start of Taira misdeeds makes them both valuable subjects for further investigation and research beyond the point of this thesis. While the use of the horse in this incident does not feature a named equine directly dictating the scene, nonetheless the inclusion or omission of Sukemori and his companions as a mounted party impacts on the level of responsibility – and culpability – the account allocates to them in the incident. The horse acts as a manifestation of an individual's power – in this case, the power to decide between right and wrong. At the same time, the horses of Motofusa's retainers and their loyal actions following his disgrace demonstrate the drop in status associated with a dismount, as well as the need for absolute loyalty to one's lord.

The inclusion of Motomori helps to exonerate Sukemori, making him a much more neutral and passive figure in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* text. The back-dating of Taira misconduct to the 1160s helps to legitimise the Minamoto position, providing a sub-textual rhetoric implying that they are necessary in order to maintain order and balance at court. Sukemori's lack of a horse and the lack of assertion that this scene is the beginning of Taira evil deeds demonstrates *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s intent to move away from blaming an individual action in 1170 for the descent into war. Instead, it implies that the removal of the Minamoto themselves allowed the Taira to behave violently, making the return of Minamoto to a position of authority the only way to resolve the problem. Finally, this chapter has demonstrated how first Sukemori, then Motomori, and, ultimately, even Munemori are made scapegoats as second sons, acting as catalysts for the evil and disruptive actions of the Taira family in the various retellings of the Genpei tale. The *Denka Noriai* scene, which exists both as a fictional and factual event,

straddles both history and literature, representing not only the story of the Genpei War, but the continuing story of its reimagining over several generations.

Thesis Conclusion

Although the Genpei War happened more than eight centuries ago, the stories that were inspired by this short but dramatic period in Japanese history have continued to influence Japanese culture, even into the modern period. Ross Bender stated that the *Heike* has been well researched already, but his analysis centres only on the *Kakuichibon* performance text, which remains the only *Heike* corpus variant to be translated into another language.[638] Despite the distinct differences between many surviving variants, much less attention has been given to written texts like the *Genpei Jōsuiki.* While scholarship around *Genpei Jōsuiki* in Japan has been increasing, thanks to the work of scholars like Matsuo Ashie and Okada Mitsuko, there is still little analysis of the textual content of this work.[639] My thesis prioritised analysing *Genpei Jōsuiki* in context with other *Heike* corpus texts, using deep textual and intertextual analysis to demonstrate the principle themes within this variant. This analysis allows us to better understand the *Genpei Jōsuiki* and the wider political implications of its compilation and use. I argue that it is as important a text as the *Kakuichibon* in understanding mediaeval views of the Genpei War, and this thesis contributes towards greater awareness of its intentions.

This thesis has suggested that *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s heavy use of equine symbolism demonstrates the view of the text's compilers when constructing the overall narrative. Instead of trying to produce an artistic masterpiece of Japanese 'epic', like the *Kakuichibon*, *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s authors privilege the inclusion of information, and this text was used as a historical source throughout the Edo period. *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses equine motifs to demonstrate worthy and unworthy individuals within a hierarchy that places Yoritomo, the future Shogun of Japan, at the top. As I showed in Chapter One, Yoritomo is depicted riding and controlling the horse that is Japan. Other, lesser warriors are shown failing to control their steeds, and this lack of control leads directly to their downfall. Yoritomo's superiority and the inferiority of these ambitious underlings help *Genpei Jōsuiki* to present the narrative that a successful and worthy leader's prime concern is the common good, rather than personal gain.

[638] Bender, "Trends in Western Research," 350.
[639] Okada, *Genpei Jōsuiki No Kisoteki Kenkyū*; Matsuo, "Genpei Jōsuiki no san-byakunen."

The dispute over the horse, Konoshita, which I evaluated in Chapter Two, also demonstrates how pursuit of personal ambition can lead an individual to downfall. This story features in all versions of the *Heike,* but I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki,* by placing blame explicitly on the horse, uses equine symbolism to explain the downfall of Yorimasa and his family. This paves the way for Yoritomo, not only as the true leader of the Minamoto, but as the Shogun who will put the realm to rights. I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki* praises those who act for the sake of the country and criticises those who do not – and this distinction takes priority over the political allegiance of the individual. Unlike the *Kakuichibon*, which turns the Konoshita dispute into a rivalry between Taira and Minamoto, *Genpei Jōsuiki* focuses on the ideology of the scene and the morality of the individuals involved, presenting even Minamoto family members in a negative light because of their ambition. The Taira versus Minamoto conflict is superseded by the conflict between personal interest and the good of the realm.

Horses are also used explicitly to demonstrate the success or failure of an individual or cause through the action of mounting or dismounting a horse. As I argued in Chapter One, and demonstrated through my analysis of *Mutsu Waki*, the idea of a dismount presaging the death, capture or downfall of a warrior is a theme present in early War Tales, and which evolved throughout the mediaeval period. My analysis of the Kurikara Valley conflict in *Genpei Jōsuiki* demonstrated the complexities of this concept as used in the *Heike* corpus, while still reinforcing the idea that a rider dismounted was immediately placed at a disadvantage. I suggest that horses were used in this manner to make clearer to the reader the success and failure of individuals and their overall causes. Just as the *Mutsu Waki* conflict is condensed into a few mounted battle scenes, *Genpei Jōsuiki* also uses dismounts (whether forcible or voluntary) to convey changes in status and fortune. I call this the Dismount Principle, and in Chapter Four, I demonstrated how, in the case of the *Denka Noriai* incident, subtle changes in Motofusa's status as Regent are depicted by the dismounting of his retainers by Kiyomori's men.

Genpei Jōsuiki also prioritises structured hierarchies. In Chapter Three, I argued that *Genpei Jōsuiki* uses differing horse heights to indicate superiority, and, by association, the standing of the men riding them. Kagesue's initial pride at receiving Surusumi, and his later dismay on realising that his rival, Takatsuna has received the better horse, Ikezuki, demonstrates Takatsuna's closer position in the trust of their lord,

Yoritomo. At the same time, whilst Takatsuna commits acts of theft, murder and deception, he is not viewed in a negative light by the text. In committing these acts, Takatsuna is privileging the interests of his master over his own reputation, excusing his behaviour as an act of loyal devotion to Yoritomo. By awarding Ikezuki to Takatsuna, instead of Kagesue, *Genpei Jōsuiki* validates his criminal acts as acts of fealty, demonstrating that a retainer's loyalty supersedes any other concerns about his behaviour.

Issues of blame and responsibility are also present within this text, and my analysis in Chapter Four of the shifting roles of Sukemori and Motomori as scapegoats in different variants for the start of Taira misdeeds illustrates this concept. By removing Sukemori's horse in the *Denka Noriai* incident, and placing the blame instead on Motomori's actions ten years earlier, I argue that *Genpei Jōsuiki* turns a minor skirmish into a stepping stone within a much bigger political context. By placing blame for the Taira's deeds on Motomori, *Genpei Jōsuiki* drags the start of Taira misconduct back to the 1160s, and the time when the Minamoto are removed from the capital. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s changed timeline of events suggests to the reader that the real cause of unrest in the capital is the lack of Minamoto influence, adding credence to the need for Yoritomo to establish a stable government.

Through textual analysis and a review of historical evidence, I suggest that *Genpei Jōsuiki* is not a text of the fourteenth century, but a product of the late Sengoku Period. Historical evidence from diary entries shows the text being copied for powerful figures such as Ishida Mitsunari, but no trace of the name *Genpei Jōsuiki* appears prior to the 1570s. While undoubtedly including older material, *Genpei Jōsuiki* places emphasis on acting in the common interest and the loyal service of retainers towards one master. These themes do not appear in the *Kakuichibon* or *Engyōbon* in the same way, both texts of the fourteenth century, and seem to better reflect the values of the Unification period. *Genpei Jōsuiki*'s inclusion of Motomori – an individual occluded from most fourteenth century texts – and the desire to remove blame from Sukemori – the alleged ancestor of Oda Nobunaga – also provides circumstantial evidence that this text better reflected the interests and political mindset of the sixteenth century.

Throughout this study, the importance of themes of centrality and peripherality have underpinned key aspects of my analysis. I suggest that, in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, positions of centrality and peripherality can be fluid and are not exclusively associated

with any one group or character. The text allocates central and peripheral themes in two principal ways. The first of these relates to morality – to misconduct and to correct and praiseworthy actions. Moral centrality is the latter of these concepts. These are characters who, like Yoritomo, or the warrior Takanori, who defends the Regent's carriage, are acting in a righteous way. They have the approval of the narrator because their actions are deemed legitimate. Legitimate and praised actions generally lead to success and are not dependent on rank. Although positive actions are often attributed to those with Minamoto allegiances, this is not always the case – as with the example of Shigemitsu, whose sacrifice for his lord is praised by both ally and enemy, although he is fighting on the Taira side.

Moral peripherality is represented in the text by actions that attract criticism. These actions are not necessarily considered either criminal or heroic in everyday society. Actions such as the pursuit of individual ambition, demonstrated in the story of Konoshita, or the acquisition of rank and status beyond one's level of birth, as exemplified by power-hungry Taira, provide strong examples of negative (or peripheral) moral behaviour. Again, these are not limited to rank or allegiance, and the horse is utilised to convey both positive and negative associations. When the horse is wild and liminal, its actions can be considered peripheral, and that peripherality can spread to the riders as well. If the warrior can control the horse, then he is able to direct this wild energy towards a purpose, such as in the metaphor of Yoritomo straddling the land of Japan. Riders who are unable to control their horses, or individuals seduced by avarice for a good horse are ultimately destroyed, ending on the political periphery, or even crossing the barrier between life and death.

Centrality and peripherality are also demonstrated within the text through geographical and directional references. This is most literally present in metaphors, such as the mice in Mochizuki's tail. Geographical indicators of central and peripheral themes are also fluid in their textual presentation. Warriors from the north (Yoshinaka) and east (Yoritomo) use their horses to infiltrate the traditional space of the court (Kyoto). Their military successes and continued encroachment into the traditional 'centre' help to lay the groundwork for the establishment of a new governing centre away from the court. Again, it is the horse which enables these connections to form between distant locations and the heart of administrative authority. Many of the text's horses also begin in far-flung geographical locations, and they help to enable their

peripheral masters to gain legitimacy and control of power by crossing large swathes of Japan at speed. In using these themes, *Genpei Jōsuiki* constructs a narrative in which Yoritomo's ultimate cause is legitimised, from Mochihito's edict to victory at Dannoura.

Genpei Jōsuiki is a long text which deserves greater attention and study. The vast amount of textual material it contains offers a glimpse into the mindset of the people who read it and who compiled it. The influence of *Genpei Jōsuiki* can be traced right up until the Pacific War, where its stories were used to inspire young men to go off to fight for their Emperor. This thesis has presented *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a 'pseudo-history' and a work of late mediaeval propaganda, promoting certain ideas and condemning others to fit its political agenda. My work has shown how horses and acts of criticised behaviour help to act as catalytic moments in the construction of this Genpei War Tale. I invite the reader to reconsider *Genpei Jōsuiki,* and its place as a less-studied member of the *Heike Monogatari* corpus, and to urge this thesis to be a starting point for further research in the future.

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Appendix I : *Genpei Jōsuiki* Scene Translations

Scenes from Chapter Two

Genpei Jōsuiki, Book 14[640]

The Horse, Konoshita

The reason Yorimasa, the Novice of the Third Rank conveyed such wicked ideas to the Prince was, originally, on account of a horse[641].Yorimasa's eldest son, the Governor of Izu Province, Nakatsuna, had a retainer based in the East of the country. This retainer told Nakatsuna that he had the best horse in the whole of the Eight Provinces[642], and sent the beast to him. The horse had a dappled hide, like a deer, and was muscled and well formed, able to manoeuvre well in advance or retreat, and was a horse of the finest quality. Because in places its coat bore patches like stars, it was known as a star-dappled horse. Nakatsuna greatly treasured this horse, and took great care of it. Because this kind of horse was difficult to obtain, Nakatsuna, saying, "What should be more treasured to a warrior than a good horse?" never led it out in a rough or coarse manner. He gave the horse the name Konoshita (Beneath the trees) and took as good care of it as he did of himself.

At this time, some person mentioned to the Major Captain of the Right,[643]

"The Governor of Izu Province has received a horse from the Eastern Provinces which is said to be a sturdy beast of the highest quality. Wouldn't you like to see it?"

The Major Captain of the Right immediately sent a messenger. The message said,

"Is it true that you've received an interesting horse? I am curious to see it!"

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[640]The translation in this section is based on Matsuo, Ichiko, et al., *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1994, 3:41–51.This text, based on the *kokatsuji* version of the text, does not have formal headings inserted into the text, and therefore the section headings I am using come from the ones printed in the margins. There are some minor differences in titling in Mizuhara and Matsuo's printed edition of a later version of the text, which has designated sub-headings inserted into the document. The translation of this title, Konoshita, the horse comes from the Ichiko ed. Text, which roughly references the scene as 木下馬, whereas the Mizuhara and Hajime edition titles the section "The Matter of the Horse, Konoshita" 木下馬の事. See *Shintei Genpei Seisuiki*, 1988, 2:201.

[641] 馬故ナリ

[642] The eight provinces of the east which bred horses.

[643] Taira no Munemori (1147-85)

Nakatsuna, on hearing this, did not respond straight away. Then, at length, he sent a return message.

"Although I do not have a horse which you would wish to see, I did have an unusual horse sent to me from the distant provinces. Its hooves were damaged, and it was quite unsightly, so, thinking that it would require too much work, I sent it back to the country," he replied, but people reported to the Major Captain of the Right,

"The day before yesterday, he bathed the horse. Yesterday, he rode it in the courtyard. This morning, he took the horse out into the inner courtyard."

The Major Captain of the Right said,

"That in itself is a regrettable fact," and he sent out yet more messengers.

"I have heard that the horse is definitely there, so oblige me," these messages said. "Because it is such a horse, it has become my fervent intention just to catch a glimpse of it."

The Izu Governor thought, "I never tire of seeing this horse; I cannot possibly obey." He responded saying, "the horse is not here."

The Major Captain, undeterred, sent as many as two or three messengers in a single day. On one day it reached the point of six or seven messages being sent, but after all this harassment, the horse was still not forthcoming. Instead, Nakatsuna then composed and sent a single poem:

'If you wish to see him, come see,
But he is so much my deer-mottled shadow
How can I possibly let him go?'[644]

The poem combined the idea of Konoshita as a deer-dappled horse, and also as a shadow.[645] Although it was a very beautiful horse, after the demise of the whole family, people said that Nakatsuna's family having to part from a shadow that they should

[644] 恋敷クハキテモミヨカシ身ニ副ルカゲヲバイカガ放チ遣ルベキ。This same poem appears in Kakuichi.

[645] The 鹿毛(kage) of the deer pattern and 影 (kage) shadow are a play on words (kakekotoba) here. (note, p.42 in Genpei J vol 3).

never part from had, ultimately, led to their death and ruin, which made it seem like they had been defeated by reciting that poem.

The Novice of Third Rank summoned Nakatsuna, and said,

"Why do you not give this horse up? When such a man as that makes the request, even if the horse is made of gold or silver, you must hand it over. Even if he did not request it, there are customs of society which means we should give it up to him as a sign of our respect. When he has begged in this manner, why should you begrudge it? A horse is meant to be ridden. What value does it have, kept hidden away inside the estate grounds? In any case, you should give the horse up at once."

When he said this, Nakatsuna's fight drained out of him, and, obeying his father's order, he sent the horse to the Major Captain of the Right's home. When he realised that, as he had heard, it was a truly good quality horse, the Major Captain assigned many stable-hands to look after it. Taking it into his own stables, he prized it greatly and took very special care of it.

After a few days had passed, the Governor of Izu sent a messenger;

"Konoshita-maru, the horse which you summoned and which is in your custody, should now be returned," the message said.

The Major Captain of the Right valued this horse, and so, thinking that it was a good substitute, he sent Nakatsuna another horse in exchange, by the name of Nanryō. It was called Nanryō (Southern Silver) because it was a strikingly white horse. It was also a truly sturdy and well muscled horse of good quality, but it was not a horse which could match up to Konoshita.

At this time, a meeting between nobles and courtiers of the Taira and other families was held at the Major Captain of the Right's estate. Someone said,

"Is it true that the horse which Nakatsuna so cherishes was brought here to this manor? I have heard that it is a fine horse of great quality. I would really love to see it!"

The Major Captain said,

"The horse is here," but, despising Nakatsuna's deep attachment towards the animal, he stopped calling it by the name 'Konoshita', instead calling it by the name of its real master.

"Bridle up this [Governor of] Izu Province, and ride him out in the courtyard, so we can see him," he instructed. Obeying his instructions, the horse was led outside, and ridden around the courtyard in various ways. The Major Captain of the Right ordered,

"Nakatsuna is stubborn, so strike him! Drag him into the yard! Tie him up firmly!"

Because this kind of situation could not be concealed, in no time at all, even the Governor of Izu Province came to hear of it. Feeling frustrated and upset by the situation, he went to seek the advice of his father, the Novice of Third Rank.

"Now I, Nakatsuna, have become the particular target of mocking jokes here in Kyoto. The Taira family are said to be descendants of the Emperor Kammu, but that descent has become more distant over time, and has spanned thirteen generations. In the middle of this stretch of time they were, for a while, not even granted the rights to be governors of provinces. In spite of this, their family has recently gained in fortune. Our family is descended from the Emperor Seiwa, and, as a descendent of Tada Mitsunaka, you, father, are only the ninth generation. This is a much smaller gap of time. Whilst both the Genji and the Heike are families which provide the front and rear military commanders for the Imperial Court, and, although there is no clear superiority or inferiority between them, one brief moment of fortune has led to an imbalance of court rank between us in this current age.

"In regards to this, and on account of Munemori's[646] hateful words, I felt that, to the very end, I would not stop thinking of Konoshita. In spite of this, your orders are difficult to defy, and so I gave the horse away. Even if, from the bottom of my heart I could not think respectfully of Munemori, so long as good manners were observed, I would be thankful. But it has not been that way. At a drinking party of his and other families, I have heard of things he has said. Things like, 'Bridle up Nakatsuna! Nakatsuna is stubborn, so strike him! Ride Nakatsuna in the courtyard! Drag Nakatsuna here! Tie Nakatsuna up tightly!'. What grudge should be taken more seriously than

[646] First mention of Munemori's name in the scene.

shame in this life and which should require the taking up of one's bow? In this current society, there is no point acting like nothing has happened. For that reason, I should either go to Munemori's lodgings and kill him, or I should cut my hair and retreat from the world to a mountain forest. There are surely no other options open to me." Nakatsuna spoke, sobbing profusely.

The Novice of Third Rank, on hearing this, must have felt great resentment himself about these events. It later became known publically that, for this reason, he put such evil ideas to the Prince. Thus it is said that one should not use such a suspiciously superior steed, as it can end in such a way.

The Eight Horses of the Zhou Emperor[647]

In the past, there was an Emperor of the Zhou by the name of Mu. He had eight swift horses in his possession. Because each horse could cover 10,000 *ri* of terrain within a day, they were considered even swifter than the flight of a bird. Emperor Mu in particular loved them dearly, and rode as far as the most barren locations. Because he didn't return to the capital, the rites to the ancestors in the Seven Mausoleums also became neglected, while the state affairs and governance halted. As time went by, the people became miserable, the country fell to ruin, and in the end, Emperor Mu died. Because of this, the poet Bai Juyi called these horses 'suspicious steeds'[648], and wrote that one should not use such odd mounts.

In the time of the Han, the Emperor, Wendi, was given a horse which could cover 10,000 *ri* in one day. The Emperor gave the instruction that, "In times of great fortune, in the historical records, ten thousand riders obeyed my predecessors. There is no call for me to ride on alone, ahead of everyone else, on a horse that covers 10,000 *ri* in a day," and, ultimately, he did not ever use this horse. By doing this, the people became wealthy and the country recovered.

The neigh of Konoshita-maru was transformed into the fighting spirit of warriors, and thus people said that this horse became a suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven. It was a considerably mysterious state of affairs.

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[647] 周朝八疋馬 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1994, 3:44.
[648] 寄物

In the past, Emperor Mu cherished his eight swift horses, and this led to Mu's death. In this time, and because of one horse[649], Nakatsuna led his entire family to oblivion. This was something that was indeed to be pitied.

The Compassion of the Komatsu Great Minister[650]

Although the world descended into chaos on account of a single horse, people of high and low rank all whispered secretly to each other about the Lord Komatsu[651]. The Komatsu Minister, having something he needed to say to the Second Consort went to the palace. He met with a Lady in Waiting called Lady Sotsu-no-Suke at the Ninju Hall, and during this meeting, after some time had passed, from the hems on the left side of Lady Sotsu-no-Suke's *hakama* trousers emerged a snake. It crawled up from underneath into the right hand side of Shigemori's lap. Seeing this, the Minister thought, "If I make a fuss and stand up, I will also c ause uproar in the Empress's palace and Sotsu-no-Suke will get a shock." Thinking that such a disturbance could only end badly, he remained extremely calm. He grasped the head of the snake with his left hand and the tail with the right and instructed, "Imperial Archivist of Sixth Rank, come here!"

At this time, The Governor of Izu Province [Nakatsuna] was still employed in the Imperial Archives, and, when he was singled out, he came and enquired, "what might be the matter?"
"Take a look," came the reply. Nakatsuna approached the Minister and covered the snake in the sleeve of his robe, withdrawing and stepping out into the street in front of the Mikura Ward.

"If someone is there, come here", he called, and one of the Archive menials approached.

"Take this somewhere and dispose of it," Nakatsuna instructed, showing him the snake. The man took one look and his courage deserted him. His face red with shame, he turned tail and fled back to where he had been working. When Nakatsuna gave the snake to one of his retainers, by the name of Habuku, the man fearlessly took the snake by the head and carried it out onto the main street, disposing of it. By this time the snake was dead.

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649 一疋の馬故に一門悉く絶ぬる事こそ哀なり
650 小松大臣情 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1994, 3:45–46.
651 Taira no Shigemori (1138-1179)

The next day, Lord Komatsu personally wrote [Nakatsuna] a letter.

"We could put yesterday's activities down to a performance of the Genjōraku (Snake Seeking) dance! I know it's a different kind of animal, but I would like to make you a gift of these," it said.

With the message was sent a black horse which exceeded seven sun (4 shaku 7 sun) in height, plump and sturdy, and kitted out with a saddle edged ornately in white, an atsubusa (敦房) crupper and a long sword with a "nagabuse-rin" design inserted into a brocade sheath. Nakatsuna viewed this with joy. In his reply, he wrote,

"I humbly accept this horse and this sword. Please receive my sincere and humble intent of gratitude. Certainly, last night did seem a bit like the 'Snake-Seeking dance. This from Nakatsuna, your faithful servant."

The Genjōraku is the dance of taking a snake, and because of this, such a joke was made.

"Lord Komatsu was such a person, but, even though they're brothers, why is Munemori so pathetic in comparison?" people asked.

According to another story, it is said Konoshita-maru the horse was the exceptional equine of this age.[652]

The Novice of Third Rank Enters the Temple[653]

Prince Takakura (Mochihito) left the capital on the fourteenth day. Although he he reached the temple of Miidera in the dead of night, the priest Yorimasa, who had talked so boldly, had not arrived there, and because not a single Genji soldier had ridden in from the provinces, the Prince felt there could not have been anything more terrifying than this. On the twentieth day, however, the Minamoto Novice of Third Rank, his eldest son, the Governor of Izu Province, Nakatsuna, his second son, the Minamoto Steward Inspector[654] Kanetsuna (actually a nephew Yorimasa adopted), his third son, the Inspector's representative[655] Yorikane, Kiso no Kanja Yoshinaka's older brother, the Archivist of Sixth Avenue, Nakaie, his son the Tarō Archivist [gathered]. (The

[652] No reference to what this other story is, or other text..
[653] 三位入道入寺 *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1994, 3:46–51.
[654] 大夫判官
[655] 判官代

Archivist of Sixth Rank was the son of the late Sword Instructor[656] Yoshikata. After Yoshikata was shot dead, he became an orphan, and so the Novice of Third Rank adopted him.) Along with these men, the family's most trusted retainers, the Watanabe League were also called to arms, and, burning the Novice of Third Rank's manor at Konoe Kawara to the ground, they all headed towards Miidera.

Among the descendents of Minota Genji Tsuna of the Watanabe League was the son of the Takiguchi[657] samurai Noboru, a man known as Kiō Takiguchi. As an archer, there were none who could match him, and he was both strong of heart and unparallelled in strategy. Moreover, he was said to be the most beautiful young man in the Imperial Palace. His home stood behind the dwelling of the Heike Major Captain of the Right at Rokuhara. When the Novice of Third Rank went to Miidera, Kiō's peers said, "we ought to tell Kiō what is going on." The Novice replied,

"Surely you realise that's impossible. His home is right next door to the Heike. If we rashly sent a messenger to urgently call him to arms, his wife, children and servants would cry and panic. Gathering up their possessions, they would flee and try and hide, which would surely be a terrible thing. Better to say nothing. Kiō is someone with whom I have deep bonds of trust, and, because he is sharpwitted when it comes to strategy, even if we don't tell him where we are going, he will pick the right time and come to join us anyway." Because he said this, no message was sent to Kiō.

Not long after that, news began to circulate that the Novice of Third Rank had left to join Prince Takakura at Miidera. The Major Captain of the Right summoned a retainer, and sent him to see whether Kiō had gone with him. The messenger returned and said, "Kiō is still here."

"Is it true? I can't understand it. It can't be possible. Of all the Novice's men, Kiō in particular must rank first or second in his trust. What on earth could his reason be for not going? It must be a mistake." The Major Captain replied, and he sent Nara no Tarō Tomosada and Sanuki no Shirō Hirotsuna to find out, saying, "Go and see if he is really there."

[656] 帯刀先生
[657] A samurai who served the imperial palace.

These two retainers also returned to report, “He’s there in his house as if nothing had happened.”

“Then summon him,” ordered the Major Captain. They went to do so, and Kiō returned with the messenger. The Major Captain came out to meet with him, and said,

“Why is it that, when you heard your master, the Novice had gone to the temple, did you not follow him and go as well?” Kiō replied,

“Since I wasn’t told anything about it, how could I know and go with him?”

“That’s surely not the case. I have heard that, among the Novice’s men, you are surely one of those who would lay down his life in an instant for his lord, and must rank first or second in his trust. I can’t believe that he would leave without telling you of his plan.” The Major Captain objected. Kiō responded,

“I’m sure there must be a reason. Recently, he has had many grievances, and has kept things hidden in his heart. Even if he didn’t tell me, he has many people close to him. Choosing not to tell me is probably some kind of deep emotion on his part as my Lord. At a time like this, surely, it is even more important to value each person, but even saying this, for him to discard me indicates that all is not as it normally is. On top of that, there is no way that I can chase after him and follow behind. One’s regard for someone is dependent on circumstances. That is the age in which we live.”

The Major Captain agreed.

“For so many years I thought how much I wanted you. I even asked the Novice on occasion, but he always refused. This is a great opportunity. I’ve acquired a great samurai.” He said joyfully. “From now on you should rely on me, Munemori. Why should you feel you owe any loyalty to Yorimasa now?” Kiō thought,

“Ah, what superficial words! Even if I lost my life, to serve the court[658] instead would be a shameful thing. But right now, saying ‘no’ would be wrong. I’ll agree.” And he said,

“I, Kiō, don’t remember doing anything wrong. I have existed up till now to give up my body and my life for my Lord, but of late, the Lord Novice has kept secrets from me, harboured a grudge and didn’t allow me to serve with him. I will accept the offer of

[658] Here, via Munemori. The Taira army are subsequently referred to as the court army, or *kangun*.

joining your force. I worry that people will talk about me falling out of favour with my Lord, and that would bring me shame. To receive this instruction from you now is good fortune for me."

The Major Captain's joy was uncontained. Saying that, "appearances are the first priority", he gave to Kiō a high level horse called Kokasuge[659] (Little Roan) that he prized very much, kitted out with a saddle adorned with blue shells. He also had led forth a second horse, Tōyama[660] (Distant Mountain), along with black-threaded leather armour, helmet and full equipment for battle. Kiō respectfully accepted these gifts and, gloating to himself, he withdrew. The Major Captain reflected joyfully,

"I've acquired a good samurai. He's the most beautiful young man in the Imperial Palace. Strong of heart and skilled with the bow and arrow, he's the core of the Watanabe League. With his home being built behind mine, I have often seen him come and go at night and thought how fine he was, and how much I wanted to obtain him. To think this time would come."

Kiō returned to his home, but the Major Captain, still not totally convinced by his good luck, immediately sent out a messenger, asking, "Is Kiō there?"

"He is," came the reply, but the Major Captain immediately sent out another messenger, asking,

"Is Kiō there?"

"He is," the response came almost at once.

Kiō thought, "Even though he thought so much of me, [Yorimasa] didn't tell me of his plans, and that is truly regrettable. It is hard to refuse such singleminded generosity from the Major Captain. They say that you should wear today's flower in your hair.[661] I'd like to do that, but I'm still conflicted over what happened, certain that there must have been a reason I wasn't told the plan. My home is so close to Rokuhara as to make [Yorimasa] uneasy. Furthermore, to accept this offer would not be a good thing. There is a saying that 'a subject does not serve two masters, and a wife does not serve two husbands'. Su Wu, even when threatened with having his legs cut off, refused

[659] 小糟毛
[660] 遠山
[661] I.e "go with the flow."

to swear allegiance to the Hun army. Ji Xin pretended to be the Emperor Gaozu, and, acting as a decoy, sacrificed his life for his Lord. How can I now abandon my Lord and serve the Heike instead? I would be sacrificing my reputation until the end of time!"

With this in mind, he put on the armour he had been given, and mounted Kokasuge. With a page boy mounted on Tōyama as his change of steed, he gathered three retainers and two boys from his house, all on horseback, making a total of seven riders. He shouted out that they were heading to Miidera. When they passed by the gate of the Major Captain's manor, he cried,

"Right now, I, Kiō, am taking my leave! Having received a horse and armour from you yesterday, I ought to serve the court, but in spite of this, I miss my old master of so many years, and because I am thinking of him, I'm going to the temple to join him." With that, he left. Kiō, clearly valuing his status as a Takiguchi samurai, had white-fledged arrows in his quiver. The Major Captain's retainers, on hearing this, exclaimed,

"Kiō, just now, riding Kokasuge, just announced himself and passed by the gate without dismounting his horse! Because this behaviour is disrespectful, lets follow him and shoot him down!" Munemori was taken by surprise.

"What a despicable man! But how will you catch him? Kokasuge is swift, and if he gets a block ahead, catching up to him will be difficult. Also, Kiō is a superior archer. It would be bad to take injury from such a small force of men. It's better not to make a fuss over such a foolish man."

How must Munemori's orders have sounded to his men?

Kiō rode to the temple, and, on arriving, he demanded of those people he knew well, "Why didn't you tell me? Why did you discard me?" His peers said, "we wanted to, but the Novice said,

"His home is right next door to the Heike. If we rashly sent a messenger to urgently call him to arms, his wife, children and servants would cry and panic. Gathering up their possessions, they would flee and try and hide, which would surely be a terrible thing. Better to say nothing. Kiō is someone with whom I have deep bonds of trust, and, because he is sharpwitted when it comes to strategy, even if we don't tell him where we are going, he will pick the right time and come to join us anyway."

When they responded like this, Kiō said,

"That fact makes me so happy. I thought that he had distanced himself from me and that I was not a samurai he trusted, but he believed that I would come to him even if I wasn't given the instructions. I, Kiō, am someone he relies on, and I also think so fondly of him." And he laughed.

The Novice, along with his sons and the leaders of the three sections of Miidera were with the Prince, discussing military tactics. When Kiō was summoned before them, he said,

"I was invited to the Major Captain of the Right's manor, thinking that I might find out the situation, and he asked why I didn't go with you. He asked me to serve him instead. He gave me armour, horses and a saddle, as gifts of welcome. When I returned home to my lodgings, in no time at all he was sending messages asking if I was there. Knowing that stealing the horse and armour was bad, I went with the flow, but I needed these precious items to come join you, and when I decided to leave, I announced myself clearly as I departed."

Finally he concluded,

"To think that Munemori thought that a man such as I would abandon his lord of long years of service and step into the employ of another; it makes his judgement seem very risky indeed!"

At this, everyone, from the Prince down to the monks and layfolk laughed hard.

Because he thought that Munemori taking the Governor of Izu, Nakatsuna's horse, Konoshita was not a good thing to do, Kiō took Kokasuge, one of the horses he had received as a gift of welcome, and cut off its hair to make it resemble a priest. He branded the words "Taira no Munemori, the Novice" on the horse, and chased it off in the direction of Kyō.

It was still nighttime when a loose horse appeared at Rokuhara. Closer inspection revealed that it was, indeed, Kokasuge. When they brought him in to check him over, they saw the brand, "Taira no Munemori, the Novice". When Munemori saw this, he said,

"This is in response for Konoshita."

In the past, when Duke Huan of Qi attacked the state of Guzhu, his forces set out in the spring and returned home in the winter. At that time, heavy snow had fallen, burying the road and making it impossible to find their way home. Because of this, adviser Guan Zhong suggested a solution.

"We should use the wisdom of an old horse," he said. An old horse was thus released into the snow and, following its tracks, Duke Huan was able to return to the Kingdom of Qi.

In the present, too, Munemori's horse Kokasuge, despite the distance between Miidera and Rokuhara, parted the grass of the turf road. Soaked by the early morning dew, it passed by the mountain barrier of Sekiyama and the home of the barrier guard, returning to the home of its former master, the Major Captain.

Scenes from Chapter Three

***Genpei Jōsuiki,* Book 19**

Sasaki Takatsuna Steals a Horse and Leaves the Capital[662]

Among these [individuals who slipped away by night to gather together], were the children of the former Head of the Left Stables, and a loyal ally [of Yoshitomo]; a resident of Ōmi Province called Sasaki Gensan[663] Hideyoshi. Following the Heiji Uprising, they wisely hid themselves away from attention. The eldest, Sadatsuna, lived in Utsunomiya, in Shinano. The second son, Tsunetaka, was based in Hatano, in Sagami. The third son, Moritsuna, lived in Shibuno in the same province. The fourth son, Takatsuna, was in the capital. The fifth son, Yoshikiyo, being the son-in-law of Ōba Saburō, lived in Sagami. Among these, Takatsuna in particular was possessed of a fine and sturdy heart and body. Along with his aunt, he lived in the east of the capital, in the Yoshida area, and because of this he was cognisant of the current way of society.

Although he observed the customs of the world and paid due respect to the Taira, inside he thought of how his father, Hideyoshi's bond with the late Rokujō Hōgan Tameyoshi had been like father and son and as a result, both families had forged friendly ties across generations. Because they were all living in a world where things changed from day to day, Takatsuna had decided that it was better to let things lie and so lived quietly with his aunt. When he heard that Yoritomo was planning a rebellion, however, he thought this was a very happy matter indeed. He asked for time away only from his aunt and nobody else, and then slipped away in secret to the country. Because he was a man of no rank in society, he didn't have a horse. Because of this he dressed as a man of low means, wearing a straw hat and cloak and carrying a tachi sword wrapped at his waist. Although he left Kyō before dawn, because he was unaccustomed to travelling on foot, he meandered around all day long and only managed to reach Moriyama. He thought that he might beg an acquaintance for the loan of a horse, because he would prefer to ride. Realising, however, that to do so while still so close to the capital would bring unwanted attention his way, he decided not to, instead leaving Moriyama before dawn and heading towards the Yasu River area.

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[662] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 4:36–39.
[663] 源三

As usual, because it was before dawn, there was hardly anybody about but, but just as he thought he could not see anyone else, a man leading a horse with a saddle laden with luggage came into view. Takatsuna asked him,

"Where might you be from?"

The other man replied,

"I come from Kurita (in Ōmi), but I'm on my way to Youka town, in the area of Gamougun and Owaki."
Takatsuna asked,

"What might your name be?"

The other man, thinking this suspicious, hesitated, and would not give his name. Takatsuna asked some more questions, and eventually, the man said,

"I'm called Kinosuke."

"Well, Kinosuke-dono," said Takatsuna, "please lend me your horse to cross the river."

Kinosuke responded,

"I can't agree to that. I intend to travel a long distance carrying this heavy burden, and this horse is one that even I struggle to ride. Moreover, the river water today is quite warm. Please cross it yourself on foot."

"Kinosuke," Takatsuna said, "if you just let me borrow your horse to cross, I will make you very happy."

Kinosuke thought,

"I don't know why this man is so eager to borrow my horse. He's walking barefoot and I have no idea who he is. How can I expect a reward from a man who cannot even robe his own body adequately? But then, if I do not lend it to him, I feel something evil[664] might occur." And so he loaned the horse to Takatsuna.

Takatsuna immediately leapt into the saddle, thinking at once that this horse was now his own. Feeling elated, he quickly crossed the Yasu River bed, then nudged the

[664] *Ashiki koto*

beast into a walk with his heels. Kinosuke ran after him, so as not to be left behind by the horse.

"Please dismount quickly!" he exclaimed. "You said you wanted it just to cross the river!"

Although he said this, Takatsuna replied,

"I could dismount here, or I could dismount over there," and he continued to ride the horse to ShiNō ara. Being used to the merchant's lifestyle, the horse's hooves were steady and reliable, and its gait was not laboured.

"Ah, if only I had this horse, I would be able to get to the provinces so quickly," Takatsuna thought, but Kinosuke was begging for him to return the horse, and Takatsuna realised,

"If I don't dismount, then he will shout out that I have stolen his horse."

Takatsuna did not want that to happen.

"If that occurred, it would end up in a shameful situation."

He dismounted, but in the back of his mind was the knowledge that it would be hard to reach the provinces without a horse, and so he wondered what he could do about it. He reasoned that, when Yoritomo's world had dawned, he would have Ōmi province for his own. In that case, he would be able to offer prayers for Kinosuke's future rebirth. Thinking this, he decided to stab the man to death and take the horse.

"Hey, Kinosuke-dono," he called his companion over. "Let me return the horse."

It was the first half of the Eighth Month, and as was usual in the autumn, there was a mist that cloaked the surrounding areas, making it hard to see. Nobody else was travelling up or down the road, either. Takatsuna drew his sword, and, moving alongside Kinosuke, he stabbed him twice in the stomach and tossed the body in a nearby ditch. He discarded the luggage saddle, and called at a lodge in Musa where he begged a riding saddle from an acquaintance there. He rode through day and night without stopping. The horse was also a fine specimen. It was able to gallop to Izu Province without getting caught in mud and weeds. Because it was this way, it was able to honour both the current world and Kinosuke's future life.

When Takatsuna reached Yoritomo and entered his presence, Yoritomo said,

"My late grandfather, the Rokujō Hōgan [Tameyoshi] and your own father, Lord Sasaki, had a vow between them that was as close as that of father and son. On account of this, they relied on one another and were never distant from each other. Being one fallen from grace, I had not remembered this, but in spite of that, you came here to me, without my having even needed to ask. This is exceptionally impressive. I intend to destroy the Heike and and put in place a new society, but to do so, I will need to rely on the power of many people. Please, summon your brothers here."

With this instruction, Takatsuna sent out messengers to his brothers. The eldest, Sadatsuna rode quickly from Utsunomiya in Shinano. The second, Tsunetaka[665], also rode from Hatano in Sagami. The third son, Moritsuna, came on horseback from Shibuno in the same province. The four brothers together came to offer Yoritomo their protection. Each of them was truly a warrior worth a thousand, but they were also an intimidating/forceful/menacing presence in the surrouding area.

When Yoritomo enquired,

"What of the fifth son, Yoshikiyo?" the reply came,

"Because he is married to the younger sister of Ōba Saburō, it is difficult to know where his loyalties currently lie. If we were to tell him your objectives, then I am sure he would come to join us, however, if we did so, it would make it less likely that we could keep people from finding out your plans."

Because of this, they did not send a summons to Yoshikiyo.

[665] Base copy says Moritsune 盛経 but this is in error. *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1994, 4:39.

Genpei Jōsuiki, **Book 34**

News of the Eastern Army's Horses, Sasaki receives Ikezuki, additionally the matter of Zō-Ō Taishi's Elephant.[666]

At that time, it suddenly became known in the East that the Retired Emperor, Go Shirakawa, had made an imperial progress to the Western Provinces on the first day of the eleventh month of the previous year. This was because Kiso Yoshinaka had not settled down the disruption in the capital, the people did as they pleased and neither those of high or low rank could relax. The Taira had attained high rank too, such as the positions of Grand Minister (Daijō Daijin) and those of the Left or Right Major Captain. They had held more than one rank at a time and had obtained enough status to be able to enter the palace. Although they were persistently arrogant and greedy, however, they had observed the protocol of the Imperial Rank and high and low positions and had paid deference to the core ways of decorum and benevolence. On the other hand, since their withdrawal, the Genji had proven themselves inferior, and the Retired Emperor was said to have thought nostalgically of his former ministers. Such a report reached Kamakura. Yoritomo, on hearing about this, was greatly shocked and sent a force of sixty thousand or more mounted warriors towards the capital. Thinking that, if Kiso and the Heike were to join forces, and the warriors from the four Kyūshū provinces and those of the Eastern and Southern Seas were to ally themselves, it would be very difficult to pacify the realm[667], Yoritomo send orders to his men:

"First, strike down Yoshinaka, soothe the anger of the Retired Emperor, and, after that, you should destroy the Heike."

Yoritomo's retinue[668] received these instructions.

"In terms of how to fight if faced with an enemy fort, then attacking it and bringing it down is a strategy to take, but, when facing a big river, attacking an enemy can be very difficult. In the province of Ōmi, close to the capital, there are numerous bridges. At the end of the river's flow, in the province of Yamashiro, there are two bridges over the River Uji that are difficult to tackle. These bridges will doubtlessly be

[666] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 6:155–66.
[667] 天下
[668] 侍所

pulled down. The river is deep and the current is wild and rough. It is not a river that the average horse is able to cross. On top of that, in the middle of the river there are scattered posts and felled tree branches which can strike you, or vines which can pull you off course and see you swept away into the current. We should gather our best horses, cross at Uji and Seta, and make a good name for ourselves," They said, and those of great repute and small fame, members of warrior leagues and household retainers began to make their preparations.

A resident of Kazusa Province, Suke no Hachirō Hirotsune, came bringing a horse called Iso (Seashore)[669]. An individual from Shimotsuke Province, Chiba no Suke Tsunetane, brought a horse called Usuzakura (Light Cherry Blossom)[670]. A resident of Musashi Province, Hirayama no Mushadokoro Sueshige, brought a horse called Mekasuge[671] (Eye Roan). From the same province, Shibuya no Shōji Shigekuni brought a horse called Shishimaru (Little Lion). Hatakeyama Shōji Jirō Shigetada brought the horses Chichibu Kage[672] (Chichibu Deercoat), Ōguro[673] (Great Black), Hitozuma[674] (Man's Wife), and Takayama Ashige[675] (Takayama Dapple). From Sagami, Miura Wada Kotarō Yoshimori brought the horses Kamo no Uwage[676] (Over the Kamo) and Shiranami[677] (White Waves). Hōjō Shirō Tokimasa, from Izu Province, brought a horse called Araiso[678] (Windswept). Kumagai Jirō Naozane brought the horse Gonta Kurige[679] (Gonta's Chestnut). Taishōgun Kurō Onzōshi (Yoshitsune) brought Uzusumi (Light Charcoal) and Seikaiwa[680] (Blue Sea Wave). His brother, the Kaba no Onzōshi (Noriyori) brought the horses Ichikasumi[681] (First Mist) and Tsukinowa[682] (Moon Ring). These horses were all beasts that could move freely in all directions and at the top of their game. Like the six swift dragon horses that pulled the carriage of Haikai, their

669 磯
670 薄桜
671 目糟
672 秩父鹿毛 Chichibu is a location,also related to sacred sites (in Saitama).
673 大黒
674 人妻
675 高山葦毛
676 鴨の上毛
677 白浪
678 荒磯
679 権太栗毛
680 青海波
681 一霞
682 月輪

strength matched that of lions or elephants, and their speed was like that of the blowing wind. Because of this,

"These are horses that can cross the Himegawa and Hayagawa over the border between Echigo and Etchū, as well as the Tonegawa and, in Suruga Province, the Fuji River, and even rivers like the Tenryūgawa and Ōigawa. When thinking about crossing the Uji and Seta Rivers, then such a number is important." People said to each other, full of pride.

Among these individuals, Sasaki (Takatsuna), and Kajiwara (Kagesue) were without a prized horse. There remained three cherished horses. These three were called Ikezuki (Man-eater), Surusumi (Inkstone) and Wakashiroge[683] (White Coat). These horses had come from Mito, in Michinoku, via the son of Hidehira, Motoyasu Kanja (Takahira). They were strong and sturdy, with substantial coats and hair. These horses had strong noses that were capable of sniffing out a particular person, and because of this they were known as 'street lords'.

Ikezuki was a dark chestnut horse, with a height of four shaku and eight sun. He was sturdy and strong, and the front of his hair was a little white in colour. He was five years old and even now was still growing. He was also a horse from the seven to of Michinoku and on his flank was the brand of the whistle from a deer hunt. Because he was a horse that bit/devoured both men and horses, he was given the name Ikezuki.

Kajiwara Genta Kagesue came to see Suke-dono (Yoritomo) and said,

"As you yourself know well, so long as I have a good horse, there is nobody who can best me in a battle of bows and arrows against an enemy. If I have a strong horse, I can cross a big river, bring down rocks and stone and both attack and withdrawal is easy for me. My power is equal to the strength of Hankai and Chōryō. Although my heart is as wild as Masakado and Sumitomo, if the horse I ride is weak, I will naturally die a dog's death and be viewed forever with shame and censure. That being so, if you were to give me use of Ikezuki, I would surely be the first to cross the Uji River and destroy Kiso Yoshinaka." He spoke arrogantly and without hesitation.

Suke-dono Yoritomo considered this for a while.

[683] 若白毛

"When there were only seven of us, hiding in the Doi area of Sugiyama, we were saved and granted mercy by the actions of the Kajiwara. Right now I am here because of this great debt I have to them. Maybe I should give him the horse," he pondered, but then he thought a second time,

"If I give this horse to Kagesue, however, then I will have to deal with the anger of my brother, the Kaba Kanja (Noriyori), who has also sent a messenger to request it. If I grant the horse to Kagesue it will cause a disturbance in the ranks. Then again, for Kagesue to lack a good horse at such a crucial time as this is a problem. What can be done about it?"

He thought long and hard for a while, then said,

"Kagesue, heed me well on this. This horse is also coveted by men of both great and small standing from across the Eight Provinces of the East, as well as the lands outside. Among those people is my brother, Kaba Kanja Nobuyori, who has already professed his interest. The war between the Minamoto and the Taira, however, is far from concluded. In order to defeat Kiso, I am sending a large force of Eastern warriors to the capital. It's not clear whether the Heike and Kiso are in league together, but if they are, and if it all becomes a huge uproar, then I will need to enter battle myself. In that situation, I will need a horse of my own, and so I cannot give him to anyone. I will give you instead a horse which is in no way inferior to Ikezuki."

Saying this, Yoritomo gave the horse Surusumi to Kagesue.

Kagesue had not been able to obtain Ikezuki, but Surusumi was sindeed a fine horse and so, wreathed in smiles, he accepted, withdrawing from Yoritomo's presence. He placed a black lacquer saddle on Surusumi and, summoning several retainers, he set off in good humour.

Early the next morning, at the start of the hour of the dragon, Sasaki Shirō Takatsuna, from the province of Ōmi, arrived in haste to Yoritomo's manor to find out the latest news. Yoritomo asked Takatsuna,

"I had heard that you were recently residing in Ōmi, and so I had supposed that, if you had the conviction to act for me, you would have gone to attack the capital. Why are you here in Kamakura?"

Takatsuna responded,

"In regards to that matter, in the tenth month of last year I was indeed living in Ōmi, in the Sasaki lands. I heard of the various disturbances happening in Kyoto, and, being close to that location, I naturally would have gone there to fight. When one goes out on the battlefield, however, it is the way of things that one is ready to lose their life for their lord. Knowing that I might not come back a second time alive, I knew there was a chance I might leave this world without seeing you again. For this reason, and not knowing when the enemy might strike again, I thought to come here and receive orders from you. I left the Sasaki lands on the fifth day of the first month of this year, at six in the afternoon, and I planned to reach Kamakura in three days. Moreover, if I had not come to Kamakura, and had gone to Kyoto of my own volition, you might have been angry. Having heard various things from different people, my conviction is very strong, but in rushing to get here I ran my horse into the ground and ruined it. Having no close person to call on for help, and, in spite of seeing people, I did not know who to ask for a horse, and so I agonised about what to do. Even though the great and small are already heading for Kyoto, for these reasons I remain here like this."

Yoritomo was moved by these words.

"Both your coming to Kamakura, and your long-standing loyalty are marvellous, quite marvellous! Now, in regards to business, Kiso has been causing distress to the court in the capital, and so I am sending a military force to strike him down. At Uji, there are several bridges, which the enemy will certainly have pulled down. Do you think you can be the first to cross the Uji River?"

When he asked this, Takatsuna replied,

"Because I am a native of Ōmi, with the Uji River close by, I am very familiar with where the deep and shallow points are, and even where there are deep sections or rapid currents. If you entrust it to me, I, Takatsuna, will indeed be the first man across the river."

Yoritomo said,

"At the previous battle of Ishibashiyama, in the latter part of the eighth month of Jishō 4 (1180), I was pursued in defeat by Ōba Saburō (Kagechika). It was a difficult situation to escape, but you and your brothers turned back to defend my retreat by firing arrows to cover my trail. You saved my life. Although at that time I thought that I

would give you half of Japan, things are not currently stable or settled and the situation has not changed. Prepare yourself, and ensure you raise your reputation by being the first to cross the River Uji. I have placed my faith in you, and I will give you my prized horse and servant, Ikezuki."

At these words, Takatsuna felt he had received the greatest favour in the world and he believed that he could not receive greater praise. Thinking that there was nothing that could compare to this, he humbly accepted and received the horse. He was about to take his leave when Yoritomo spoke again.

"This horse has been coveted by many people. My younger brother, Kaba Onzōshi Noriyori, has also requested it. On top of that, although Kajiwara Genta came directly to me to express his desire for the beast, I refused his request, telling him that, if a major situation arose, I might need to ride Ikezuki myself. You need to keep that knowledge in mind," he warned.

Takatsuna was not at all unsettled by this and, saddling up the horse, he mounted the beast before answering.

"I will, of course, cross Uji River first. If you hear that I died before reaching the battlefield, please assume it is because someone else stole the honour of being first from me. If you hear of my activities in battle, please know that it was I, Takatsuna, who crossed the river first. If someone else crosses first, and my goal is taken away from me, I shall not resent my opponent but, whoever my rival may be and whether it be on the river bank or in the water, I shall pull them back and defeat them in order to settle our contest," he stated firmly, and then left.

On leaving Yuigahama, Takatsuna enquired and was told that the Major General (Yoshitsune?) and the military force had mostly departed from Kamakura the previous evening. On account of this, Takatsuna decided to pursue them towards the region of Ukijimahara in Suruga Province. He gathered together his force of seventeen riders and, calling,

"Come, men, come men!" he led them through Inamura, Koshigoe, Katasegawa, Togamihara and Hachimatsubara, crossed over the Sagami River and then traversed Ōiso, Koiso, Sakawa-no-Shuku, Yumoto and Ashigara. By urging the horse on at the stirrups, he managed to make a two-day journey in just one day, and arrived at the

Kisegawa lodgings. When he enquired, he learned that his instinct had been right, and he was told that,

"A large force are currently settled at Ukijimahara, in Suruga."

Because it was just past the tenth day of the first month, the thawing snow around the base of Mount Fuji had led to the Fuji River being swollen with water. The East and the West banks were immersed in the water, and, on account of this, there was no easy way to cross. Kurō Onzōshi Yoshitsune asked the assembled warriors,

"The water in this river has risen. What should we do?"

The response came in many voices,

"In order to practice how to manage crossing the Uji and Seta Rivers, we should first look to cross this river. Let us group the horses together like a raft and cross the water," they suggested.

Yoshitsune observed that,

"Suke-dono advised me that, 'if military discourse is needed, it is best to consult Doi Jirō (Sanehira)', so I will leave it to him," he decided. "What about it, Doi-dono? How do you think we can best get through this river's water? Many people say we should use this as practice for crossing the rivers at Uji and Seta, pull together our horses as a raft and cross. What do you think?"

When he asked this, Sanehira respectfully acknowledged the question and responded,

"If the enemy were right in front of us now, the swiftest way to cross would be to use a horse raft. Here, at this river, though, the swift current of the water runs close to the bank and the speed of the current is even faster than an arrow's flight. If one animal got separated, neither man nor horse would be saved. Suke-dono also warned us that 'Kiso Yoshinaka will definitely have pulled up the bridges at Uji and Seta'. If we were to lose men and horses in the depth and current of the Fuji River, what would the point be of the exercise? If we are to lose our lives, then it should be when we meet the enemy, not here. We should not recklessly allow ourselves to lose lives in the river so cheaply. Because this water comes from the thaw of snow, there is no quick way to

cross it. Tomorrow, we should find someone local who knows the water and make them wade in to check the depth. Then we can calmly cross."

"We should follow this plan," Yoshitsune decided, and, like clouds and mist, the Genji forces spread into the surrounding area to set up camp.

Kajiwara Genta (Kagesue), feeling sure that there could not be any bigger horse than Surusumi in the encampment, began looking around at the more distinguished warrior figures there. When he looked at their horses, he saw Kurō Onzōshi Yoshitsune's Seikaiwa, who was (4 *shaku*) 7 *sun* high, and Kaba no Onzōshi Noriyori, whose horse, Tsukinowa, was (4 *shaku*) 7 *sun* 2 *fun* tall. Wada Kotarō's Shiranami was (4 *shaku*) 7 *sun* 5 *fun*, while Hatakeyama's Chichibu Kage was (4 *shaku*) 7 *sun* 8 *fun*. Beginning with these, the horses of the greater and lesser men present numbered 50 here, 30 there, 5 here, ten there, but Surusumi was bigger than all of them. Genta, feeling overjoyed by this, found himself a prominent position up high, and so that everyone could see Surusumi, he rode him around prominently.

Genta was so full of happiness that he felt sure people would come and praise his horse. Just when he had begun to think whether anyone was going to pass by him, he saw the Captain of the Murayama League, Kaneko Jurō Ietada crossing by his position. Kagesue called Kaneko over, and asked him,

"What do you think, Kaneko-dono? What do you think of the value of this horse? Take a look!"

Kaneko was a brave individual of righteous disposition, not given to making fun of others. He looked at the horse and burst out laughing.

"That's Suke-dono's Surusumi, isn't it? Not long ago, your father Kajiwara-dono (Kagetoki) obtained the principal rank of close retainer in Yoritomo's trust. For that reason, Yoritomo gave this horse to you. With a horse like that, it isn't a matter of good points or bad points. The beast is simply a spectacular mount, and any who see it will naturally be envious."

He praised the horse, and, on hearing this, Kagesue was extremely happy. He was wearing armour set with yellow and the print of tiny cherry blossoms, and he sheathed his tachi sword, withdrawing from the scene. He left Surusumi in the care of three retainers, telling them,

"Groom him, take care of his coat and look after him well," and they looked after Surusumi as if it were Kagesue's most prized possession of all.

Sasaki Shirō Takatsuna had placed a gold embroidered saddle on Ikezuki, with a white bit and two connected leading reins. He had six retainers in attendance (with the horse), and had headed to the West side of Ukijimahara, having them lead the horse there. Just past the middle of this area, there was a flat spring field, and Ikezuki, being a horse with more than average courage, was trembling with anticipation. He let out three neighs, then a fourth. Because the sound was as clear as a temple bell, it could even be heard echoing a whole two *ri* away, in Tagonoura. Hatakeyama (Shigetada), hearing this, wondered,

"Well, what's this? That's Ikezuki's cry. Who could have received that horse and brought him here?" His retainer, Narikiyo raised his doubts about this.

"In this large military force, there are countless fine horses. Surely it could be any of those beasts you heard? It must surely be so. Besides, I heard that Ikezuki was requested by both Kaba-dono (Noriyori) and Kajiwara (Kagesue), and they were both rejected. That being so, who could have been given Ikezuki?"

Thinking that this must be the case, people around laughed, agreeing with him. But Hatakeyama said,

"I never mistake a sound once I have heard it. I do not know who received the horse, but I do know that was the sound of Ikezuki's call, so bear that in mind."

While Hatakeyama was making this observation, Ikezuki emerged from the eastern side of the area, needing six retainers to lead him and with his muzzle covered in white bubble grass Seeing this, all agreed that the gods had vindicated Hatakeyama.

Sasaki's retainers led Ikezuki through the space where Kagesue was still showing off Surusumi. Kagesue could not help but notice. As fine and exceptional a horse as Surusumi was, when compared with Ikezuki, it could not be denied that it was somewhat inferior. Kagesue, seeing this, felt that, if the horse had been given to Kurō Onzōshi Yoshitsune or Kaba Onzōshi Noriyori, he could be satisfied in coming second behind them. He summoned the men to enquire.

"Where did that horse come from? Whose horse is it?" he asked. The retainers replied,

"This is Sasaki-dono's horse."

"Who is Sasaki-dono?" Kagesue pressed. "Saburō-dono? Shirō-dono?"

"It is Shirō-dono's horse," came the answer. Kagesue, on hearing this answer, was incensed. "That is shameful indeed! The horse which I had coveted and requested three times was not given to me, but instead has been given to Takatsuna! I will never forget the depth of this resentment! If the horse could not be given to me, surely it should not be entrusted to him, either? The Great General (Yoritomo) has allowed his prejudices about Minamoto and Taira to take precedence here and has shown himself to be biased. Is there anything more despicable than this? This is not a world in which one flourishes for a thousand years. Indeed, human life is as fleeting as a lightning bolt, or the morning dew. We can die at any time. Before now, I had no grievance against Sasaki-dono, but as of today, he is my enemy. Takatsuna is a strong individual, so he will not be defeated easily. We should wrestle each other to the ground and settle it with daggers. When Yoritomo hears that he has lost two of his best retainers over a matter of humiliation, then maybe he will realise that he has made a mistake. Takatsuna and I are both warriors worth a thousand, and brave soldiers, too," he thought.

As though he had read Kagesue's thought processes somehow, Takatsuna, along with seventeen mounted retainers, came to where Kagesue was waiting. Kagesue was resolved that this would be his final act, and mounted Surusumi. He did not draw his tachi, but readied his dagger in his hand instead. Seeing Sasaki, some distance away, he moved his horse in from the side and turned him to block the pathway through. Takatsuna, noticing this, told his accompanying retainers,

"You should withdraw and wait for me here. That is Genta Kagesue and, from his demeanour, looking how he has positioned his horse and how he is waiting for me, it is clear this is no small matter. This is because of Ikezuki. He is clearly preparing to wrestle me to the ground and fight with blades. If that happens, we will certainly be killed. For Kagesue and I to fight to the death over our lord's horse is, both to me and to anyone else outside looking at it, clearly a pointless act. Still, it is clear that Kagesue is not to be reasoned with about this, so there seems no choice but to give him what he wants," he murmured.

With his mind made up, he headed towards Kagesue, and, as he did, Genta forcibly drew alongside him, within striking distance.

"Well, well, Sasaki-dono. It has been a while since last we met. Tell me, did our Lord give you that horse?" he demanded. Sasaki smirked at this and said, laughing,

"Indeed, it has been a long time. I have been in Ōmi since the tenth month of last year. Although I was close by, and because I heard of trouble in the capital, I had thought of attacking it directly. Because I had not made a proper parting from Lord Yoritomo, however, I was afraid that I would die without doing so if I acted thus. Also, I wanted to know clearly where I should be attacking, and so rode in three days direct to Kamakura. Unfortunately, the only horse that I had to my name was ruined in my haste to make the journey quickly, and I was stuck with no replacement. I did not know what to do. I thought I might ask for a horse from my Lord's stable, but when I made some discreet enquiries I discovered that Surusumi had already been given to you, and that even though you and Lord Nobuyori had made three requests for Ikezuki, you had been refused. In that situation, there was no way that such a horse would be given to me. There was no hope at all that my wish would be granted. At the same time, I had become separated from the rest of Yoritomo's force, which had gathered at Yuigahama. Without a horse, I was stuck behind, and I could not allow that to happen. On thinking about this for a long time, I thought that, right now, this battle was of the greatest importance to my Lord. No matter what the punishment I might receive, I decided to steal a horse and ride it here. I bribed the stablehands and in the dead of night, plied the people on duty with alcohol. In the morning, I took Ikezuki and left for here. Right now, when I think of the message that has probably reached Yoritomo, I am sure he is thinking, 'how mysterious it is'. I imagine he is in a bad temper about it, and that concerns me greatly. If I am thrown in a cell for my actions, please, come visit me there."

Genta, believing this story to be true, said,

"Truly, truly, Sasaki-dono, to steal such a horse so easily! Would that I had thought of it, I should have stolen the horse too! You have truly secured a fine mount, haven't you?"

Satisfied, Kagesue made further jokes about it, and, with such merry dialogue, they headed together towards Kyoto.

(For example, in India, there was a Prince called Zōō-Taishi (The Great Elephant Prince). He had one hundred elephants in his care, but, when war came with a

neighbouring land, he gave ninety-nine elephants to his soldiers and only kept one behind as his favoured steed. A convict called Hachihō saw this, and he was a man with a criminal record. He thought that, if he rode the Taishi's favoured elephant, entered the enemy camp to attack and was killed, then later generations would instead remember him as a loyal servant who, for the sake of his lord, fought and destroyed the Taishi's enemies. The next day following his release from jail he stole the elephant and went to destroy the Prince's enemies. On his return, it is said that he received rewards for his actions. Takatsuna's strange confession must surely have been based on this tale.)

Scenes from Chapter Four

***Genpei Jōsuiki*, Book 3**[684]

Sukemori Noriai Rouzeki no Koto (The Disturbance of Sukemori's clash of carriages.)

Although the Retired Emperor had taken religious vows because he resented seeing the unacceptable behaviour of the Taira, they continued to act as though ignorant of his feelings, throwing their weight around in a most deplorable manner. One event, however, indicated the tilting of their family fortunes. This happened on the third day of the seventh month in the Kaou era (1170). On this day, the Regent of the time, Motofusa (also known as Matsu-dono) had accompanied the Retired Emperor on an Imperial visit to the temple at the palace of Hosshouji. On his return journey, the Regent's party had just crossed the intersection between Sanjou and Kyogoku when they encountered a woman's carriage at the head of Sanjou. The light of the evening sun illuminated this carriage, allowing a clear view within, and it was observed that a young man, wearing a lacquered 'eboshi' hat, was riding inside.

The Regent's ox drivers and mounted attendants chastised [the youth carriage], demanding that he should disembark his carriage in accordance with courtesy, but he and his men did not take any notice and attempted to proceed themselves. [At this defiance] the Regent's attendants called the opposing retainers 'troublemaking ruffians' They cut apart the front rattan blind and silk screen of the carriage, causing it to fall away to reveal a youth sitting inside, dressed in hakama printed with an arrowroot design. His attendants attempted to hurry the carriage away, but the regent's retinue pursued them and struck them mercilessly. After this, the carriage withdrew into the grounds of a small manor off the intersection of Rokkaku and Kyougoku.

The youth involved in this incident was Echizen no Kami Sukemori, the grandson of the Great Minister of State, Kiyomori. He had been on his way to a flute lesson and had gone to the house of Shikibu no Daisuke Yasumori, but on his return home he had met the Regent's party.

[684] *Genpei Jōsuiki*, 1:74–79.

When he arrived back home, Sukemori related the occurrence to his father, the Komatsu Lord.

"The fact that you went out and, when encountering someone of the rank of the Regent, failed to disembark your carriage is offensive behaviour. The chinaberry tree at the point where its petals have just begun to open is especially fragrant, but when its scent has travelled forty ri, it begins to fail and is thus surrounded and overcome by the pungent odour in a copse of castor oil trees. The Pure Land Paradise bird, even when within its egg, sings so beautifully that its voice triumphs over all the other birds. Infancy is a term applied to those aged five or six. You have already surpassed ten years, have you not? Why do you not know the rules of common courtesy? People in society have their own position and worth in relation to each other, both high and low. There are also deep distinctions of court rank. Government is based on a premise lacking in evil intentions, and because of this, it is very important that people observe the rules of decorum. People of equal status should respect one another and, in particular when dealing with a member of the Regental House, due respect should be shown. Small events like this can lead to much bigger issues in society. This disturbance occurred in particular because the men who accompanied you had clearly not absorbed these rules of decorum. Because of this, a disturbance occurred and you experienced unpleasant treatment," Shigemori lectured his son firmly.

The Regent's men had had no idea that they had accosted the grandson of the Taira general [Kiyomori], and Sukemori and his accompanying retinue had not known that the other party belonged to the Regent. For this reason it had become such an incident. When Motofusa heard of this, he had his ox drivers and accompanying retinue arrested and handed them over to Shigemori's custody. On top of this, Motofusa sent Kuroudo Ushouben Kanemitsu as a messenger to Shigemori to convey an apology. Shigemori was moved and embarrassed by this, and sent the ox drivers and retainers away, but three of the individuals were confined by the officers of the Kebiishi. Because of this, the court demoted four of the guards who had been on duty that day. Among these was Hata Kanekiyo, who lost the rank of Kebiishi chief. Because Kanekiyo had tried to control the situation, however, his crime was considered a light one.

Because seven horse riders were banished as a result of this incident, Kiyomori sent for his grandson and demanded to know all the details. Sukemori told him exactly

what had occurred. Kiyomori could not keep his temper in check and, in a burst of rage he exclaimed,

"Even if it was a member of the Regental House, why could he not have looked kindly/leniently on my grandson? Iesada, we will definitely rinse away Sukemori's humiliation!"

The Komatsu Minister Lectures Kiyomori

The Komatsu Lord came to hear of this, and he hurried to Kiyomori's manor.

"You must not think of things like revenge," he urged his father. "My son is just an ordinary court noble, and the fact that he did not observe correct manners when meeting the Regent's party is itself vulgar behaviour. Even if the Governor of Echizen is still just a young boy himself, and even if he did not know the correct procedure, I find the conduct of those with him alarming. They did not take the matter in hand and are surely deserving of being sent away. This is absolutely not a matter of Sukemori being humiliated. Had he encountered other warriors and this kind of thing had occurred, then of course you should be righteously furious. Everyone high and low has their place in society, and this is not a matter of being enemies or allies. The Regental House is blessed by the deity of the Kasuga Shrine, and they help the Emperor to govern the country, supporting the peasant classes to flourish. We should be grateful for this and respectful towards its members. This is not a time to become overly proud about our position, nor talk about rinsing away the shame of this incident. That act will lead to the decline of the Taira's family fortunes. On the contrary, it is said that 'those who win in a contest of virtue with another will flourish, and those who win in a contest with those who hold power will be destroyed.'[685] The Analects of Confucius state that 'the difficult matters in the world beneath heaven should be made simple and the great issues beneath heaven should be attended to in minute detail.'. Please, sir, I beg you to show humility here. They say that stories spread about people take a hundred days to disappear. You must not do anything to make that last longer in this case."

When Shigemori said such things to placate his father, those who heard him thought, "what a wise and sage minister he is."

[685] 史記'Shiki' – Great Chinese Historical Records, specifically 南君列云 section (story of the Southern Lord)

Following this, Shigemori summoned the samurai involved in the incident, and said,

"For you to allow such a thing to occur when you were entrusted with the guidance of a young boy amounts to nothing less than the behaviour of ruffians." When they heard this, all the accompanying samurai were mortified. With this, Shigemori returned home.

The Matter of Encountering the Regent (Denkai Jiai)

In spite of this, the Lord Novice Kiyomori remained ominously angry. The rudeness and short-temperedness of country samurai (inakazamurai) was frightening enough, but Kiyomori believed that, irrespective of high or low rank, there were none outside of the family who ought to be more feared than he was, and so he found this incident unthinkable from start to finish. He summoned Nanba no Jirō Tsunetō and Senō Tarō Kaneyasu and instructed them,

"Shigemori is such a magnanimous man that he understands neither the shame of his son nor the anger of a father. He has prevented many things from happening, but the fact that other families do not take us seriously is contemptable. For the sake of all of us, rinse away the shame endured by the Governor of Echizen and go cut the hair of those who accompany the Regent, Motofusa."

Nanba no Jirō Tsunetō and Senō Tarō Kaneyasu thought that this would be a fun errand, and went off to make their private arrangements.

How could the Regent, Motofusa have known about any of this? The noble members of the Regental House and the high ranking court ministers were to attend the inner palace and as a result Motofusa's preparations to go out were even more elaborate than ever. He assured that the mounted warriors and guardsmen who went ahead of his carriage had fresh and new uniforms for the occasion. The procession left the Regent's manor at the crossroads of Nakanomikado and Higashinotōin and headed west onto the Ōimikado Avenue. At around the vicinity of the Horikawa and Inokuma intersection, thirty riders dressed in military apparel suddenly rode towards them at great speed, grabbing hold of the leading guardsmen and restraining them. Only Takanori, the Governor of Aki Province, was not separated from his post alongside the Regent's ox-carriage. Shikibu no Daifu Nagaie, Gyōbu no Taifu Toshinari and Hidari no Fushō

Moromine all had their topknots cut. Furthermore, the small windows on each side of the Regent's carriage were penetrated and broken, with tachi blades and naginata thrust through the openings. The Regent must have felt like he was in some kind of terrible dream.

Takanori circled the carriage, repelling those brandishing the weaponry, but Nanba no Jirō Tsunetō drew his own tachi sword, advancing on the ox-carriage. Filled with sadness, Takanori galloped forwards.

"Ruffians, creating a disturbance! Who are you?" he demanded. Takanori was a man of superior strength and he wrestled Tsunetō off his horse and onto the ground, pinning him down. He curled a fist, punching Tsunetō in the cheek. Tsunetō's retainers, however, were intent on helping their master, and they grabbed hold of Takanori's topknot, pulling it up. Tsunetō rallied his strength and turned the tables on Takanori. With the help of two of his retainers, he pinned Takanori down by the arms and legs, cutting off his topknot. As he did so, he exclaimed rudely[686],

"Do not think that this action is directed at you." While this was despicable, it was also extremely foolish. Sakon no Shōgen Morisuke urged his horse into a gallop in order to escape, but he was struck down from his saddle and also captured. Tadatomo from Motofusa's personal mounted guard got down from his horse and advanced before the ox-carriage.

"We should return to the manor," he said, and took hold of the wooden poles at the front of the carriage to turn it. When he did this, the warriors (enemy) fired two bulb-headed arrows at him. Tadatomo dropped down onto the ground, and the arrows flew over his head. It was a visibly dangerous situation. Motofusa's accompanying men had fled in all four directions, and there only remained those at each side of the ox carriage, and one other who held the pine tool. There had never been a scene in the past to compare with this one, and it seemed unlikely that there would ever be such an incident again. After having committed this atrocity, Nanba no Jirō Tsunetō and Senō Tarō Kaneyasu headed home.

Although Takanori's topknot had been cut, he hurried forward, exclaiming,

[686] 罵る nonoshiru, utilising a horse radical.

"My Lord, my Lord, are you all right?"

When he said this, Motofusa pressed his face into the sleeve of his robes and sobbed all the way back home to his manor. For a procession that had started out in such an elaborate style, they made a pitiful sight on their return, appearing like poor people of low rank, and this in particular was very sad. It was also no small thing that the Regent had been made to suffer such an indignity. There would surely be consequences.[687]

At the Imperial Palace, the Minister of the Left Tsunemune, the Minister of the Right Kanezane, the Great Minister of the Centre Yasumichi, the Ōmiya Dainagon Takasue, the Captain of the Left Moronaga, the Minamoto Chūnagon Yasuyori, the Gojō Chūnagon Sukenaga, the Taira Prime Minister Narinori, the Shūri Taifu Nariyori and the Lord Sataiben Sanetsuna had arrived and were awaiting the arrival of the Regent. At this moment, a messenger named Tsunetō arrived from Kiyomori to tell them what had occurred. Fujiwara Mitsuyasu said they would postpone that evening's Imperial Genpuku ceremony and associated capping rites, as well as the audience with the Emperor. The lords each left, one by one. Perhaps because this act was contrary to the will of the Gods and Buddhas, the image of Fujiwara Kanenari tore and split apart. This was a fearful omen that something very bad was afoot.

According to a valued source, the Novice Kiyomori was at this time in Fukuhara, carrying out religious rites for his successful rebirth following his death in this life, and this incident was the work of the Taira Dainagon Shigemori. This account is greatly different to what is normally recorded.

The Taira Dainagon Shigemori when he heard about this, shed tears, let out a heavy sigh, and exclaimed in frustration his strong lamentations that the fortunes of the Heike were already exhausted. The Novice Kiyomori, however, rejoiced, saying 'that should put things to rights'. One of the Regent's men, who was known as Tadano Gensan Kurōdo had had his topknot cut off. He spent a whole night gathering up his hair and tying it back together. Putting on hunting robes woven with a patterned brocade and went to report to the Retired Emperor.

[687]子細, literally 'circumstances'.

"You have probably heard that many of those who serve the Regent have had their topknots cut off. It was a shameful business indeed. Pitifully, although I trained in the art of the bow and arrow, I tried to be first to turn and fire from my bow, but my skill was lacking. The shame of those who had their hair cut is surely greater than that of those who did the cutting. But how can we live on and show our faces to people now? Because a foolish wretch like myself is on your service, my shame will spread to you," he said. He asked for some time to himself, and then proceeded to take holy vows, shutting himself away. How strange that this should prove to be a wise action.

On the morning of the 22nd, a strange construction appeared in front of the gates of Rokuhara.

The construction (statue?) comprised of vegetables that were piled high on an earthenware vessel. This stood on a lacquered tray, and the pile reached up to the thigh of a priest standing approximately five foot tall. The priest's clothing was stripped from both his right and left shoulder and his robes were gathered at his waist. The priest had stabbed his chopsticks into the juice of the boiling turnips. He stood there, glaring at the juice that remained in the dish. This is the construction that was placed there [before the gates].

Although many people of high and low rank saw it, nobody could work out what it meant. When they went to the Komatsu Lord and told him that 'some odd thing has appeared." Shigemori responded, saying sadly,

"Ah, this is a pitiful thing. We have become the laughing stock of all Kyō and that is why this has been created. This monstrosity in particular suggests the saying "rooted to the spot when meeting steamed food, implying that we are weak and quick to react with violence when under threat" Warriors take up a bow and arrow on the battlefield and compete with strength and might. It is unthinkable to use that power against the Regental house. This thing was constructed (at our gate) because such an incident occurred."

Because the Regent had endured such indignity, it was decided on the 25th that the Emperor's coming of age and capping ceremony would take place at the Retired Emperor's palace. Because such a shameful incident should not have occurred, on the 9th day of the twelfth month it was decided that he should receive a ministerial

promotion. On the 14th he was promoted to the rank of Daijō Daijin (Great Minister of State). On the seventeenth, the Regent held a celebration of this promotion.

This appointment was so that, when the new year began, he could take on the important duty of placing the cap on the Emperor's head himself in the coming of age (genpuku) ceremony rite. The Taira family, however, were viewed even more with hatred and derision following this matter.

Appendix II:

Horses and Humans; A Biography of Principal Participants in this Thesis

Main Named Horses

Gonta Kurige: Ridden by Kumagai Naozane at Ichinotani. Named after the loyal retainer who obtained it. (Chapter One)

Ikezuki: Superior steed awarded to Sasaki Takatsuna for loyal service by Minamoto no Yoritomo before the battle of Uji River. (Chapter Three).

Inoue(guro): Prized steed of Taira no Tomomori, whose loss at Ichinotani grieved him more immediately than the loss of his son. (Chapter One)

Kokasuge: Horse stolen by Watanabe Kiō in revenge for the loss of his master's horse. (Chapter Two)

Konoshita: The 'suspicious steed unparalleled beneath heaven'; a dispute over Konoshita's ownership led to the Genpei War (Chapter Two)

Mochizuki: A horse in whose tail nested mice, creating a negative omen about Kiyomori's death. (Chapter One)

Nanryō; A replacement horse given to Minamoto no Nakatsuna by Taira no Munemori in exchange for Konoshita (Chapter Two).

Okisumi: Horse belonging to rebel leader Abe no Sadatō, said to be the ancestor of Tayūguro (Uzusumi). (Chapter One).

Onikurige: Horse belonging to Hatakeyama Shigetada, which sustained a wound at the battle of Uji River and was subsequently carried across the river by its master. (Chapter Three)

Ōkurige: A powerful and wild steed whose young rider, Mitsuhira, lost his life on account of not being able to control his mount. (Chapter One).

Surusumi: A horse awarded to Kajiwara Kagesue prior to the battle of Uji River by Minamoto no Yoritomo. (Chapter Three).

Tayūguro: A horse given as an offering by Minamoto no Yoshitsune in memory of his dead retainers Tsugunobu and Mitsumasa, said to have crossed to the world of the dead with them. Formerly called **Uzusumi.** (Chapter One).

Usuzumi: (See Tayūguro)

Wakashiroge: Horse owned by Minamoto no Yoritomo and kept in his possession. (Chapter Three)

Principal Named Humans

Taira

Taira no Kiyomori: Hegemon of the Taira family, rose to the highest of political ranks but incurred resentment and died in 1181, not long after the outbreak of the Genpei War

Taira no Kiyotsune: Grandson of Kiyomori and son of Shigemori. Committed suicide because of a broken heart.

Taira no Koremori: Grandson of Kiyomori and son of Shigemori. Committed suicide after taking religious vows.

Taira no Motomori: Second son of Kiyomori, died in 1162. His death is reported by the *Genpei Jōsuiki* as the result of a curse from a vengeful spirit.

Taira no Munemori: Third son and successor of Kiyomori, leader of the Taira at their defeat in 1185. Said to have coveted the horse of Minamoto no Nakatsuna. Original owner of the horses Nanryō, Tōyama and Kokasuge.

Taira no Shigemori: Eldest son of Kiyomori, predeceased his father.

Taira no Sukemori: Grandson of Kiyomori, son of Shigemori. Died at Dannoura (although *Genpei Jōsuiki* claims he died earlier) after the Taira's defeat. Known for the clash with the Regent known as the *Denka Noriai*.

Taira no Tokuko (See **Kenreimon'in**)

Taira no Tomoakira: Son of Tomomori. Died at Ichinotani defending his father in what *Genpei Jōsuiki* describes as a filial death.

Taira no Tomomori: Fourth son of Kiyomori. Owner of the horse Inoue(guro), whose loss to the enemy he deeply regrets.

Minamoto

Hatakeyama Shigetada: Possessed with exceptional skills of discernment when it comes to horses. Owner of Onikurige, who he carried across the river Uji after it sustained a wound in battle.

Kajiwara Kagesue: Retainer of Yoritomo after he and his father defected from the Taira cause to the Minamoto. In *Genpei Jōsuiki*, he coveted Yoritomo's horse Ikezuki but received the lesser horse Surusumi and lost the race across the river Uji to Sasaki Takatsuna.

Kamada Mitsumasa: Son of loyal Minamoto warrior Kamada Masakiyo, died in Yoshitsune's service at Ichinotani. In the *Genpei Jōsuiki*, the horse Tayūguro is donated in part for his memory.

Kumagai Naozane: A retainer of Yoshitsune, best known for his killing of the young Taira warrior Atsumori at the battle of Ichinotani. Owner of the horse Gonta Kurige.

Minamoto no Kanetsuna: Nephew of Minamoto no Yorimasa, fought bravely but died at the battle of Uji Bridge.

Minamoto no Nakatsuna: Son and heir of Minamoto no Yorimasa, also died at Uji Bridge. Owner of the coveted horse Konoshita.

Minamoto no Noriyori: Brother of Yoritomo, also known as Kaba no Kanja. Coveted the horse Ikezuki but did not receive it.

Minamoto no Tameyoshi: Father of Yoshitomo, grandfather of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune. Fought against his son in 1156 and was executed as a rebel not long afterwards.

Minamoto no Yorimasa: Retired statesman and father of Nakatsuna, said to have appealed to the prince, Mochihito, for support in launching a rebellion against the Taira.

Minamoto no Yoritomo: Future Shogun and ultimate victor of the Genpei War, depicted in the *Genpei Jōsuiki* as a wise and just leader detached from personal concern.

Minamoto no Yoshiie: Ancestor of the Minamoto, often referenced in *Genpei Jōsuiki*, whose story of heroism is detailed in the *Mutsu Waki*. Also known as Hachiman Tarō Yoshiie.

Minamoto no Yoshinaka: Cousin of Yoritomo, initially a lukewarm ally and ultimately an enemy. Described in *Genpei Jōsuiki* as permitting his army's horses to feed on the rice crops of the peasants.

Minamoto no Yoshitomo: Father of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune, condemned as a traitor following a failed coup in 1160.

Minamoto no Yoshitsune: Yoritomo's brother and a renowned military general, depicted as having great emotion for his retainers. Donated his horse, Tayūguro, to the memory of lost men.

Sasaki Takatsuna: A skilled warrior in Yoritomo's army who received the horse Ikezuki for loyal service, and allegedly rode him to victory in a race with Kagesue across the river Uji. According to *Genpei Jōsuiki*, he also killed a merchant and stole his horse.

Satō Tsugunobu: Retainer of Yoshitsune who gave his life for his lord at the battle of Yashima. The horse Tayūguro was given in his memory.

Watanabe Kiō: Loyal retainer of Yorimasa and Nakatsuna, stole the horse(s) of Taira no Munemori to avenge an insult against his lord.

Watanabe Habuku: Loyal retainer of Nakatsuna, saved Taira no Shigemori from a snake, for which deed Nakatsuna received a horse.

Imperial Family

Antoku: Son of Kenreimon'in and Takakura, grandson of Kiyomori. Died at Dannoura still a child.

Kenreimon'in (also Taira no Tokuko): Daughter of Kiyomori and principal consort of Takakura.

Go Shirakawa: Retired Emperor during the Genpei War, Go Shirakawa wielded a lot of political influence in the outcome of the conflict.

Mochihito: (also Minamoto no Mochimitsu, Takakura no Miya) Son of Go Shirakawa edged out of the succession by the success of the Taira. Launched a rebellion in 1180 but was killed fleeing the battlefield. His edict is alleged to have legitimised the Minamoto call to arms.

Sūtoku – Former Emperor exiled in 1156 and said to have placed a curse on those who exiled him prior to his death.

Takakura – Emperor between 1168 and 1180. Nephew of Kiyomori and son of Go Shirakawa. Father of Emperor Antoku.

Regental (Fujiwara) Family

Fujiwara Kujō Kanezane: Author of the significant twelfth century court diary, *Gyokuyō*, on which some *Genpei Jōsuiki* entries appear to be based. Brother of the Regent, Motofusa.

Fujiwara no Morotsune: Responsible for bathing his horse in the hot springs of Yūenji temple, an act which incited the anger of the monks and which led to disaster in the capital.

Fujiwara no Motofusa: Regent involved in the *Denka Noriai* incident with Taira no Sukemori.

Fujiwara no Motozane: According to *Genpei Jōsuiki*, Motozane was involved in a clash with Taira no Motomori, marking the start of the Taira's disruptive behaviour. Married a daughter of Kiyomori.

Fujiwara no Narichika: Rebelled against Taira authority in 1177 and was exiled. Died shortly after, probably murdered.

Fujiwara no Yorinaga: Also known as the Evil Minister of the Left (Aku Safu), Yorinaga died as a result of the Hōgen Uprising in 1156. His vengeful spirit is said to have cursed Taira no Motomori to his early death.

Other

Imajōji no Tarō Mitsuhira: A young and impatient warrior who takes his father's horse, Ōkurige into battle without permission and subsequently perishes when he cannot control the animal's wild temperament.

Kinebuchi Shōgenta Shigemitsu: A loyal retainer who, though slighted, fights to avenge his master before committing suicide by plunging from his horse onto the tip of his sword.

Kinosuke: A merchant allegedly killed by Sasaki Takatsuna for his horse.

Nanba no Jirō Tsunetō: One of the men sent by Kiyomori to attack the Regent, fought Takanori and had to be rescued by his retainers.

Senō Tarō Kaneyasu: Responsible for accompanying Fujiwara Narichika into exile and sent as one of the warriors to attack the Regent by Kiyomori. His capture following the battle of Kurikara Valley is precipitated by his being dismounted from his horse.

Takanori, Governor of Aki: Loyal retainer of the Regent, Motofusa, who, despite suffering dismount and humiliation, defends his lord's honour following the *Denka Noriai* incident.

Yasuie: A young warrior who charges into battle and has to be rescued by his uncle, later attempting to steal his uncle's glory for defeating the enemy.